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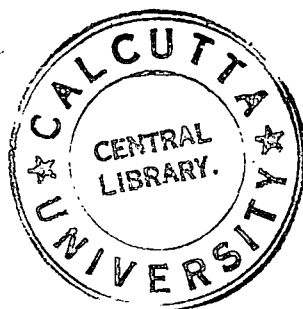
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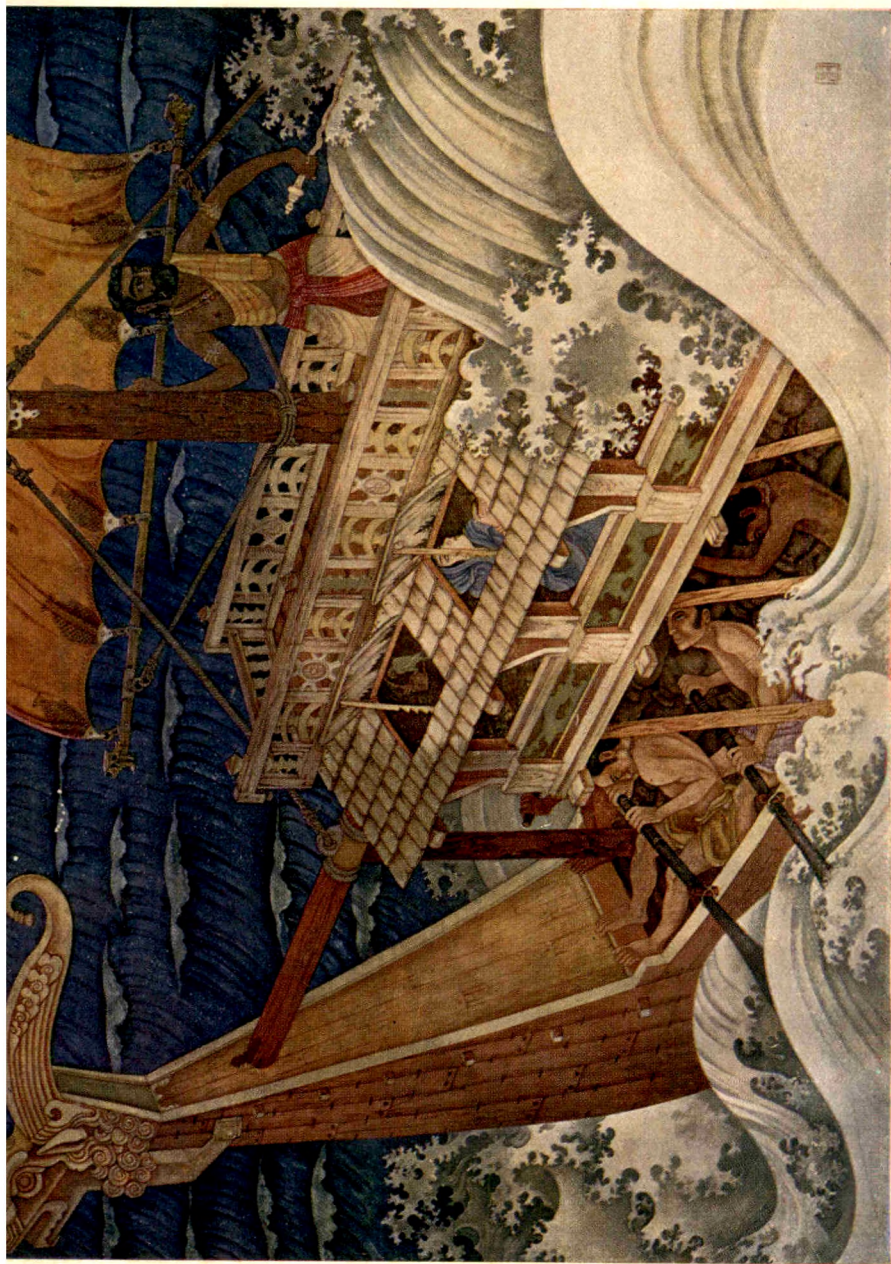
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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

" THE WRECK "

By Dhirendrakrishna Dev Barman

OCTOBER, 1933

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AN INTERVIEW AT GENEVA

By DR. RABINDRANATH TAGORE

WHEN I was last in Europe three years ago arrangements were made for me to meet a group of publicists and students who had gathered from all parts of the world at Geneva in connection with the League of Nations Assembly. Questions on all sorts of topics were asked for me to reply, one or two of which refer to subjects that are of perennial interest. For instance, I was asked to give some of my ideas on Internationalism. What I spoke to them on the subject I may conveniently put down here.

"Internationalism" is a word that has become much too hackneyed and I don't like to talk about it because I have talked over and over again on the same subject. Possibly my idea may be somewhat different from the ideas prevalent about Internationalism at Geneva. In the first place let me tell you one fact—how I got my own inspiration from one of the greatest of my countrymen—an Indian, Rammohun Roy, who was born in 1774 and died in 1833. He was the first man I know of that time who really believed in Internationalism though he was not brought up on an English education like most of his countrymen, when young. He was a great Sanskrit scholar and knew Greek, Arabic and Persian. When quite old he also learnt English. I have never known any one so broadminded, especially in those days when these ideas had hardly any place in the history of the time. He made a comparative study of religion, and studied the Bible in the original and also the Koran of Islam. He had wonderful sympathy for all humanity and yet he was typically Indian and steeped in Indian culture.

My idea is this—that every nation has its own affairs which represent the collective worthiness of the people which is only for their own betterment. They have their own self-interest, but if they

are confined within that range of self-seeking then they become like dark stars, they do not reveal their common humanity which we all have—the wealth of man which has to be expressed in something which exceeds the boundaries of their own race and tradition. Now that we have come close to each other through easy communication it is our duty to develop that humanity which can realise deeper human unity inspite of superficial differences. I have very great faith in man and I believe that now that the opportunity has come it must develop itself as it has done in former times when we had our geographical boundaries. The individuals who were gathered within those boundaries, if they fought against each other and if they had mutual suspicion and jealousy they would perish, and I am sure there were many races who perished owing to their failing to develop those moral qualities which could unite them together. But the problem at that time was the problem of those individuals only, who by chance gathered together within certain geographical enclosures and they cultivated their own particular national culture within that limit and they produced great civilisations—Chinese, Greek, Roman, Indian. They formed themselves into different peoples, but now the problem has become much wider as politics do no longer sever individuals who have met together. In order to create a corporate life there should be developed a code of moral conduct which makes it possible for them to become one people. To do this the several races should come closer to each other and the same effort that was made within those small narrow areas in former days to save themselves from extinction has to be applied to this problem.

This spirit of mutual suspicion and exploitation of the weak by the strong can never lead to peace or to anything which is great in its wealth of humanity, and I am sure that this age which has its own message and mission is working towards this latter ideal. Without our knowing it, in different countries there are individuals who are all thinking about the same problem and it is wonderful to realise how even amidst the race conflicts and political struggles and suspicion so many associations are springing up spontaneously as it were, whose one object is to bring a spirit of reconciliation between the conflicting interests of different nations. We see that this fact is there and that means that it is working in the human mind all over the world. It is in the air and we cannot help taking up this problem; the call is sounding within us, and I can only tell you this, that it is this call I have tried to respond to, and for a long time I have been wishing to give shape to this idea of the spiritual

unity of man in my own institution and my writings. I must say I have to work patiently—one cannot have immediate results, and we do not really know the results, how it is ripening behind without our knowing it, and then when we despair, when we complain of the apathy of people and feel as if our effort has had no fruit, without our knowing it, it is all the while growing, maturing itself, and we ought to have faith. I have that faith and I hope that the mission of the age will not be wasted and ignored through the stupidity of the politicians who are leading their people into this whirlpool of war and bloodshed. The higher spirit of man will be victorious.

Nationalism when sober is right. I have no objection to it. The idea that man should have no self at all is wrong, we cannot get rid of our selves, we can get rid of our selfishness. In the same manner, nationalism when it is not the right spirit of a nation is like sentimentalism. Sentiments are not wrong in themselves, but a certain excess of sentiment is termed sentimentalism. In the same way a nation has its own self and that is valuable, we all have that difference. That is where we have the responsibility to offer the best that we have to humanity. That very right of our national self should urge us to make the best contribution to the world.

You who come from China know what happened in the East, that glorious time in India, how those messengers of peace and goodwill crossed the deserts and seas and went to your country and other countries. That was the right spirit and thereby India did not hurt itself. The light when it goes out is not lost. For the glory of one's own country we should offer something which would live for all time to come and belong to all men; only what is best should survive. We all know what of Greek history remains to-day and is working through history of man; things that do not exclusively belong to Greece but are acceptable to all humanity, not the narrow nationalism of Greece. There are nations whose names will not reach the future history of man for those acts which possibly brought to themselves certain benefit at the moment; but if they have produced anything which has eternal value for man they will be known only through this. I was saying about the Chinese that they were the least governed of all people in the world. You hardly had the burden of government imposed upon you because you had kings and different dynasties, but the civilisation of the people was widespread through all your villages and all over the country, and you had your own self-government in your own hands and through it you kept secure your own culture and developed it, your

great art, your philosophy, and all this was in spite of the government which did not however, spread all the country over; it touched only a fraction of it. And of all nations it is China alone that looks down upon militarism. Soldiers do not have any homage and admiration paid to them there. This is the one exception in the whole history of man; in all other countries they have tried to glorify the art of war and how to kill men in a militaristic manner, but I think in China they have not done so, you never were taken hold of by some centralised power too rigidly, and that power did not reach all over the country, so that part of the country was left to itself to develop its own life and culture and was not troubled by laws and regulations in the hands of one central power. You do not have to think about military problems—that was left to some professional people whose profession it was to kill men, like an executioner's—it was the executioner's profession to execute criminals, but people did not think very highly of him. Your mind was free from all that obsession, and you could think about other things, better and nobler; and of immortal works of art. That is something which was great. Your nation, because it was not too self-conscious of its own nationality, could produce its great works of art and philosophy. The self-conscious man is too conscious of his own self and that is a sort of disease, and all self-conscious nations are too much aware of their national self and we see this in the West in such a painful measure. They never forget it, and so can never come to a real solution of the peace and war problem. Their mind is not at ease and they are not in natural relation with each other. We in India are not free from this contagion which is widespread and our minds are not superior to this passion of patriotism; we are steeped in it all over. All diseases have their breeding ground in the unfortunate condition of the people who are poor and insulted and driven to fears. They have to develop this passion of nationalism to keep their self-respect which is unhealthy and demoralising like the plague which only gets its hold upon a neighbourhood that is poor. The plague of nationalism finds its breeding ground among those people who are oppressed by other nations and who have been impoverished. All the same we have one thing to our credit of which we can rightly be proud. It is the ideal of revolution without violence and brutal instruments of destruction. It must be admitted that even non-physical resistance can have the true aspect of violence though it is better than the violence which is brutally physical.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND ITS CRITICS

By SIR J. C. COYAJEE, KT.,

Professor, Andhra University

IT does not seem so long ago when the most optimistic views and roseate hopes used to be entertained about the work and potentialities of the League. We all remember the time when M. Briand, in welcoming the German Delegation to the League, asserted that "War had vanished" and bade adieu to the gun and the mitrailleuse. Optimism was rampant in those days, alike regarding the Economic task of the League and its organisation of Peace. The work of Economic reconstruction was indeed going on most hopefully with the assistance of America and of its great banking authority—Governor Strong. The echoes of war had almost died down and the great French orator and pacifist could go on to say "No more War. We do not accept the position that, in any case, for any cause, in any circumstance, war, which we have nailed to the pillory as a crime shall again go unpunished." Much of this optimism was no doubt created by the influence of the three great promoters of political and economic peace who have now passed away—Briand, Stresemann and Strong. But no doubt there is such a thing as rhythm and ebb and flow in public opinion on all important matters. At the present day we are witnessing a flood of criticism and an alarming diffidence in the matter of the League. Perhaps when we examine the facts of the case we shall find that the present mood of pessimism has been as exaggerated as the former optimism had been overdue. The main charges against the League are that it has failed to check the Jingo policy of Japan and China and that it has shown undue hesitation regarding the achievement of the objects of the Disarmament Conference, but suspicion when once roused is apt to become hydra-headed; and many other counts are brought forward against the League. It is believed in some quarters that behind the façade of the League the Old Diplomacy has taken up its residence sheltered and concealed perhaps by the personnel of the League Secretariate. The policy of the League; its moral courage and its personnel have become simultaneously the objects of widespread suspicion. It is the object

of all well-wishers of the cause of Peace and of International co-operation to sift these accusations thoroughly and to see whether there is any measure of truth in them.

A preliminary consideration presents itself to our minds before we enter upon any detailed study of the League's policy. The decade or so of life which the League has enjoyed is surely too short for basing a proper judgment on its policy and achievements. Let us take as an illustration of this idea the history of the Concert of Europe which has been justly termed "one of the most successful experiments towards International Government prior to 1914." Casting a glance at the fortunes of that Concert we find that, although projected as far back as 1791 and planned in 1804, it began its effective career only in the twenties and thirties of the nineteenth century. It entered then on the period of its maturity and height of power; but even then it failed to prevent several wars of great importance, the Crimean War, the war between France and Austria over the Italian question, the war between Germany and Austria, and finally the Franco-German War. As its historian Prof. Mowat observes, the Concert was sensibly growing weak after the Franco-German War. He goes on to define the narrow scope of its work by observing that "the Concert of Europe could restrain small states and could thus help to maintain the treaty system of Europe. It could, if given a chance, tide over a war crisis even between Great Powers. But if a Great Power deliberately chose to break an engagement, the conquered could not call it to account." This was the position of the Concert of Europe after seven or eight decades of active life, and at a time when the political equilibrium of Europe was far better-established than it is at present.

To take a fresh example, we might note with advantage how slow and hesitating has been the progress of another great institution dealing though it does with the status and mutual relationships of the members of a single Empire. From this aspect the history of the Imperial Conferences of the British Empire is very instructive as regards our present line of study of the League. For there have arisen varied interpretations of the reports of these Conferences. Thus, there have come forward important problems as regards the development of diplomatic representation on the part of individual Dominions. Other questions have come up as to how far a treaty concluded by the United Kingdom can bind the Dominions, and also as to how far they have a right to be consulted in the matter of the conclusion of these treaties. There are outstanding problems regard-

ing the extent of the sovereignty of the Dominions. These are only a few illustrations of the complicated questions which have come forward as the result of the Conferences to simplify and determine the mutual relations of the Dominions belonging to one Empire. As Sir Arthur Keith, the great authority on this subject, has observed, "there is much that remains obscure in Imperial relations" and "much must be done to clarify the position before final pronouncements either on constitutional or international status will be possible." The problems of the League, which is almost co-extensive with the civilised world and which has not only to determine the mutual political relations of its members but to organise International co-operation on the wider scale and for the most varied objects, must be far more complicated than those of an Empire, and cannot be expected to be solved in a decade or so.

To revert for a moment to the case of the Concert of Europe we notice that the League began its career under much worse auspices than the Concert. The League had on its hand at once the baneful legacy of the Treaty of Versailles and the imminent Economic Depression—the greatest economic blizzard that the world has ever witnessed. On the political side the former equilibrium of Europe had entirely disappeared. If Count Beust had lived until the year 1919 he could have used the words "*je ne vois plus l'Europe*" with far greater justice than he did after the year 1870. Instead of the old system of Europe there was only a much aggrandised France and its little Entente allies on the one hand and the hungry, desperate crowd of defeated belligerents on the other. Further, the two sources of *malaise*, the political and the economic, reacted on each other and as a consequence each of these factors grew from bad to worse. With the deepening of the political troubles the clouds of Depression soon lost any silver lining that they ever had. The maintenance of peace for over a decade under the conditions is something of a miracle. Everything seemed to be contributing to the increase of armaments and the imminence of war. The statistics of armament have never shown such a steep upward curve. The victorious allies increased their military predominance, while France itself was turned into a huge fortress. Such increase of armaments on the one side added to the bitterness of the countries which had been compulsorily disarmed. On the top of all this an intense and incessant economic warfare was being carried on in the ruthless spirit engendered by the Depression. It was in the midst of these most disheartening circumstances that the spirit of co-operation with

which the League imbued its members bore fruit, and the exchange of views at Locarno succeeded, at least for a time, not only in turning the world from the path leading straight to a political and economic *debacle*, but gave an entirely new orientation to the world. Had that spirit survived, and had power remained in the hands of those leaders who had been responsible for the work at Locarno, the world would have been spared some of its greatest political and economic trials and the policy, work and spirit of the League would have been brilliantly and once for all vindicated. But in the world as it is actually constituted final progress is only achieved at the cost of numerous and severe set-backs. The League was soon to be faced by greater trials and difficulties.

It must be noted also that much of the present disappointment as regards the League is due to a mistaken conception of the true character of the League—and indeed there has been an inevitable ambiguity about its nature. Thus one school of thought has gone so far as to express the view that the League was a sort of Super-state. No doubt when the idea of the League was first mooted it was implied that it was to be “the sole and final arbiter in international relations,” and that, in so far as the sovereignty of the member states was thus limited by its very existence, the League was a Super-state. Another view, which has also prevailed widely, was that the League was a Confederation of states. As a matter of fact the first view, that the League has the character of a Super-state, is only a distant idea; and so was the latter view also. There were tendencies which would result in the remote future in developing the League into either a Confederation or a Super-state—tendencies based upon and favoured by the expanding forces of Democracy and Internationalism. But there are also other forces to be taken into account which are tending in the opposite direction. The old ideas of state sovereignty and of its absolute character in the field of foreign policy particularly are very much alive; and the real position and the power of the League results from a compromise between these opposed forces. The member-states are very reluctant to part with material elements of their sovereignty, especially in the matter of international relations. The result is an atavistic reversion on the most important occasions to the older conceptions and procedure of diplomacy. At the utmost, the League has the character of a loose confederation, and whether it will develop further depends upon the march of public opinion. Under such conditions to expect that forcible action from it which can emanate only from an all-powerful Super-state is to look

forward to an impossibility. It would be far more logical to be content with the realistic conception of the League held by authorities like Prof. M. O. Hudson and to envisage the League as only a *method* of international co-operation through the medium of Conferences, the Council of the League and through other League machinery. Even so, as has been well observed by an eminent student of international administration like Mr. C. Delisle Burns, "the efficacy of the method is not certain. It depends upon the survival of reason and sanity not only among statesmen but among the groups which believe in war. But the system and the method have so far proved efficacious in preventing resort to armed force on the part of any government even for the defence of what it believes to be its legitimate interests."

This then is the true and proper point of view to take up in judging of the work of the League in its most recent phases. Let us examine whether that method was applied sincerely, persistently and in its full integrity by the League to, say, the Manchurian problem and to the Disarmament question which have been so often treated as the criteria of the efficacy and moral courage of the League. The Manchurian affair might be taken up first as an exemplification of the application of the method of the League in applying pressure to a member state suspected of straying into the paths of belligerency. We shall see how there were different phases of the application of such pressure upon Japan. The first phase consists of the measures taken by the Council of the League on this important occasion. A high American authority (Mr. Felix Morley) has contended that the achievement of the Council in this respect was by no means inconsiderable. "In spite of the tremendous advantage given to a single recalcitrant member by the unanimity rule, the Council was able to make Japan go clearly on record as having 'no territorial designs' in Manchuria or elsewhere in China, and to secure pledges of withdrawal of Japanese troops into the zones where they are permitted by treaty 'as soon as possible.'" Another point gained by the Council was to make Japan consent to the appointment of a commission of enquiry and indeed to share half the expenses of the commission. Mr. Morley adds that on three important points the Council "definitely overruled the Japanese government and forced its compliance with policies which Tokio had ably and resolutely opposed." In the first instance Japan had to yield to the decision to invite the United States to sit with the Council. In the second place it was decided that "Article 15 of the Covenant could properly be invoked without prejudice to measure already initiated under Article 11. The third was

referring the whole dispute to the Assembly where Japan's position was much weaker and less easily defended than was the case before the Council." (Felix Morley, *The Society of Nations*, pages 494-96.) The importance of these views of such a neutral, judicious and first-hand observer of the Sino-Japanese dispute before the Council is obvious. It is well to note that he gives due credit to the Council for its vigorous and well-meant efforts to settle the dispute and attributes its failure to settle the dispute not to any want of courage on its part, but partly to the deficiencies of the Covenant and partly to the fact that none of the permanent members of the Council was willing to exert more than moral pressure. The fact is that the great Powers could not put aside thoughts of their national and individual interests when envisaging the affairs in Manchuria. The Continental powers had also to bear in mind that the vigorous and effectual operation of the League in Manchuria might set up a precedent for similar contingencies on the Continent. The blame therefore, if any, attaches to such Powers and not to the League or to its Council.

The next phase of the dispute was before the Assembly. There, even more than in the Council, the temper of the majority showed itself to be strongly favourable to the Chinese cause. Delegate after delegate showed his anxiety for the withdrawal of the Japanese forces from Manchuria and for its evacuation. The delegate of Switzerland asserted that "the principle of the withdrawal of the Japanese forces could no longer be questioned." Speaking for the Irish Free State, Mr. Connelly refused "to recognise a state set up under the condition which have operated in Manchuria." On behalf of Czechoslovakia, M. Benes urged that the machinery of the League must be applied to the case of Manchuria because, otherwise, all countries would make exceptions and might in future bring forward similar arguments to settle their disputes without reference to the Covenant. Then followed the dicta of two eminent jurists on the problem before the Assembly. M. Politis stated carefully the limitations on the right of self-defence put forward by Japan. In the first place, under the League system and the Kellogg Pact, no state can evade a discussion of such action by other member-States; and, in the second place, such alleged measures of self-defence must in their nature be "subjected to the sovereign appreciation of the Council or of the Assembly." M. Mariatega, representing Spain, argued that in upholding the principles of the Covenant the League would be maintaining the permanent interests of Japan itself. There would be no case for the existence of

either the League or the Covenant if the world was convinced "that Article 10 permits of Chinese Manchuria becoming Japanese Manchukuo, that Article 12 allows of military invasion becoming permanent, and that the principles of the Covenant must be waived in exceptional cases or in future all cases are and always will be exceptional cases." The Great Powers also were for conciliation, but obviously, the smaller countries felt more on the subject and four of them moved a resolution against the recognition of Manchukuo and against considering Japanese actions as measures of legitimate self-defence.

During the third phase of the dispute the matter was brought before the Committee of Nineteen. It made clear that the Pact of Paris and the Nine Power Treaty should be respected and that, following the concluding chapters of the Lytton Report, there should be a definite non-recognition of Manchuria.

Thus we see that, at each stage, considerable pressure was put upon Japan and this in spite of the fact that Japan was by no means without a case or without great provocations. International co-operation can only be based on the willing co-operation of nations, and there are many who doubt whether China is entitled to all the implications of nationality in its present fissiparous and chaotic condition. The just treaty rights of Japan were repeatedly assailed by the war-lords and peace-lords of China. As a distinguished publicist has observed, "China proceeded to assail the privileged position of Japan not by war, but by methods of chicanery and by the boycott. Under the old order Japan would have been fully entitled to seek redress for herself, under the new order, she had renounced this right; but what was the alternative to using it? The League had no effective power to help. China could always plead that the anarchy in Manchuria was beyond her control and could produce ample evidence of similar disorder elsewhere in her vast muddle of a realm." Indeed there are not wanting writers like Mr. Bland who has argued, in his book on *China. The Pity of It*, that owing to the special conditions of China the Nine Power Treaty had ceased to apply even before Japanese movement into Manchuria. Thus those authorities are obviously right who argue that the Sino-Japanese dispute contained all the elements of the most arduous task which could ever face the League.

There can be no doubt that Japan would have succumbed to the pressure brought upon it by the world opinion which the League had mobilized against it but for the existence of very special conditions which materially strengthened Japanese hands. America, England

and other countries were preoccupied with the Depression and other most urgent problems. Thus, America had on its hands its great Banking Crisis and the phenomenal growth of unemployment. England and continental countries had their own problems to face. With the rise of Hitlerism Europe entered on a new crisis of a most formidable character and was broken up into opposed camps. The problems of Reparations and War debts were also engrossing public attention. Russia also could not afford to interrupt her Five Years Plan and she was apprehensive that she was also open to aggression by the military power of Japan. Thus everything favoured Japan in her aims on Manchuria. With anything like normal conditions Japan must have yielded to the world's opinion. As it was, the political and economic distress of the world favoured her to a most exceptional extent and proportionately reduced the power of the League to take effective measures against Japan.

We now come to examine the second of the two aspects of the League's work upon which the critics love to dilate. One has only to cast a glance at the successive efforts of the League in the field of Disarmament in order to appreciate the persistence and intensity of that work. Here the League had to attempt to meet the needs and views of certain of the former Allies who emphasised—or perhaps over-emphasized—the idea of security for themselves as well as to envisage the task of general disarmament. We need only enumerate the various phases of the League's attempt at a solution of these difficulties. The appointment of the Temporary Mixed Committee and the proposals regarding the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance formed the first phase of this long effort. At the next stage, attention was concentrated on the Geneva Protocol which however failed on account of the attitude of the Japanese delegation to the total condemnation of war, the opposition of some other delegations to the extension of their obligations under Article 16, and the fall of the Labour Government in the United Kingdom. But the determination to secure disarmament was invincible and a very promising situation was created by the Locarno Agreements and by the entry of Germany into the League. These happenings appeared to have opened a new era in the history of disarmament. Then came the suggestion of the idea of a treaty of financial help to the victims of military aggression. Finally, a Preparatory Commission was created on December 12, 1925, for preparing the Draft Disarmament Convention—a task which was achieved early in 1933 after several years' incessant work. As this Convention however did

not secure the approbation of several delegations, even as a basis of discussion, it was left to Mr. MacDonald to step into the breach and to present a new Draft Convention. This Convention was an admirable piece of synthesis and presented many valuable features. It proposed the prohibition of chemical, bacteriological and incendiary weapons. Then there were proposals for a supervision of civil aviation and for the abolition, or at least a severe limitation, of military and naval aircraft. Further, there was the idea of maximum specification for the calibre of guns and the tonnage of tanks. A most important item consisted of the putting down of maxima for armies—maxima which were much lower than the actuals of the day. As regards security it was attempted to meet the French point of view by provisions for a further development of the Pact of Paris, and for the uniform organization of continental land forces.

The compromise proposed by Mr. MacDonald also met a most important issue of the Disarmament problem, *viz.*, the claim of Germany to military equality. In fact the task of disarmament had been rendered immensely more complicated by the determination of Germany to enforce its claim to equality at all costs. It cannot be doubted for a moment that, but for the existence and persistent activity of the League, this claim would have led forthwith to a European war. In assessing this claim on the part of Germany the League had to bear in mind opposite considerations. Morally, if not technically, the claim of Germany to an equality of armaments was indisputably strong. But then a great war would have been very near indeed if Germany had been allowed to arm fully in defiance of the Versailles Treaty, and further, to use this piece of successful defiance as a precedent for breaches of the Treaty of Versailles on her Eastern frontier. Hence the need for a skilful compromise like the one suggested by Mr. MacDonald. While Germany was promised ultimate equality, there was provided a five years' period of transition for this equalisation, as well as a general undertaking not to resort to force—all elements making for peace. The issues of the subject of disarmament had been notably cleared and narrowed, and a programme had been arrived at to which something like general consent could have been extended. Unfortunately the idea has been wrecked, at least for the time being, by one of the excesses of Nationalism in Europe. The French delegate indeed went so far as to offer Germany an eventual equality of land armaments on the Swiss militia basis. But Germany made other proposals which could not be accepted. For example; it urged that

"a decision should be taken on the limitation of permitted war material before pronouncing on the principle of the standardisation of arm types." It also claimed the right to all types of weapons not prohibited to others. It is clear that the responsibility for the present set-back of the cause of disarmament is to be attributed, not to the League but to the excesses of Nationalism in certain quarters. The disappointment felt generally on the subject is however tempered by the reflection that the League will soon find some way to carry forward the work of disarmament.

Summing up the experience of the League in its work in the cause of disarmament, Prof. Alfred Zimmern thus indicates the main factor on which success must depend in the matter. "It is not the looseness of the new international system which endangers its working, but the lack of that which holds the British Commonwealth together, a common political outlook. It is on this supreme need, rather than on propaganda against armaments and other symptoms of the old order, that the peace movement should have concentrated.²" At present all that unites the partisans of the League and of the Disarmament is the negative philosophy "of the common fear of war." What is required is the coming into vogue of a changed political outlook which alone can make a success of the League as a co-operative system. This insistence of Prof. Zimmern on a change of psychology is fully justified. In that sense there is a good deal of truth in a paradoxical statement by Dr. Fedor Vergin in his recent work on, *Subconscious Europe*: "The League of Nations would be an effective factor in the cause of peace if only its governing idea were not registration but the psychological investigation of the differences by which nations are divided."

Too often the critics of the League concentrate their discussions on the two questions of Manchuria and the Disarmament, and conveniently neglect numerous other problems which the League has solved or is solving. Thus it has solved the question between Columbia and Peru over Leticia. As the delegate of Mexico remarked on the occasion it was a "historical moment which was an auspicious date for the cause of peace and the moral prestige of the League of Nations." The hostilities between the two countries were terminated by the acceptance of the Council's recommendations. About the same time the trouble between Denmark and Norway regarding Greenland was also adjusted by reference to the World Court. Norway had alleged that it had occupied certain portions of Greenland; and against this procedure Denmark appealed to the Court which decided in its favour.

The critics of the League also ignore the outstanding success of the Mandate policy of the League which has given such an important check to the policy of Imperialism and of exploitation of backward nations. Mr. H. R. G. Greaves who is a critical but fully enlightened writer on numerous aspects of the League's work has observed that "the Mandates Commission is steadily building up in print, as well as by personal contact, generally acceptable principles for colonial government. The influence of this extends far beyond the territories immediately under its supervision. The more publicity is given, the more definite does the influences become." He also notices that when a Mandatory Power has been considered to be remiss, the Commission has been "severely critical." But the admirable work of Mr. Greaves on the League Committees and World Order was written too early to provide us with an account of the brilliant success of the Mandate regime in Iraq. This is no place again for giving an account of the League's most important and successful work of the promotion of public health throughout the world and for the suppression of the Drugs Traffic. But it might be mentioned that in the midst of the Manchurian trouble and the Economic Depression the work of the League is being carried on triumphantly in both these directions. On the side of the Drug Traffic there has been reached the new Convention for the Limitation of Manufactures and the Regulation of the distribution of Narcotic Drugs of 1931. It might be added that sufficient ratifications have by now been received to allow the Convention to come into operation. It supplements and completes the Hague Convention of 1912 as well as the Geneva Convention of 1925. This is so because it contemplates a triple system of control of the manufacture and distribution of drugs. In the first place there is an international control in the shape of annual estimates fixing the limits of manufacture and of trade. Then there is a national control through factory and wholesale licences. Finally, there is provided a supplementary international control through the instrumentality of the examination of the statistics of manufactures and trade. It has been noted that "this is the first time that the manufacture of any product has been completely subordinated, as an economic measure, to humanitarian and moral considerations." It is even anticipated in some quarters that the Convention might serve as a precedent for the organisation of the control of the manufacture of and trade in armaments.

The latest aspect of the development of the League's policy in promoting public health is the assistance that has been given to

China by sending a number of sanitary experts on temporary missions, including the survey of medical education in China, and a plan for reorganising the quarantine service. But such assistance on the part of the League is by no means confined to China. The League's permanent commission on Biological Standardisation has been working for years. The Health Centre at Athens is now in full activity. In the Union of South Africa a Conference of Directors of Public Health Services in certain African territories has been summoned with the assistance of the Health Organisation of the League to discuss public health matters of common concern to the various districts of Central and South Africa and in need of urgent solution. In Paris the international School of Advanced Health Studies is being started under the auspices of the League. These few examples will show the vast scope and importance of the activities of the Health Organisation of the League.

The economic work of the League is not second in importance to any other aspect of its activities, and it has been becoming more intensified with the advent and progress of the Economic Depression. With the creation of the Economic Committee of the League this portion of the League's work has been constantly growing in value. A great and long campaign has been carried on for the improvement of the national and international commercial policies and for the abolition of trade restrictions of all kinds. In 1824 the Conference for the abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions was held and efforts were made for improving the treatment of foreigners in commercial matters. Soon after, in 1927, the first World Economic Conference was held and it formed the most important stage in the economic work of the League. Its deliberations and report were of the highest value, and had the world given anything like a fair trial to the recommendations of the Conference the intensity of the present Depression would have been greatly reduced. That report dealt with the problems of commerce, of customs tariffs and of commercial policy and treaties. On the industrial side it made important proposals regarding Rationalization and international industrial agreements. It further considered the problems and potentialities of agriculture and emphasized the interdependence of agriculture, industries and commerce.

Although in the end the world did not adopt fully the recommendations of the Conference, the League carried on its work to give a new impulse to commercial policy. At its Assemblies the idea of Economic Disarmament was constantly kept to the fore and

the alternative policies of the complete most-favoured-nation policy and of some modifications of it, at least during the period of Depression, were repeatedly discussed. There were also negotiations for a "Customs truce." These well-meant efforts of the League were denied their full results by the rising tide of Depression which compelled the nations to resort to desperate expedients in order to secure somehow a favourable balance of exports, which was a matter of life and death for so many of them, in a period of such distress.

The World Economic Conference of 1933 was a fresh and very hopeful effort in the direction of the wise regulation of the economic policies of the world and of the amelioration of the Economic Depression. No conference could have been more timely and none could have had its ground better charted or prepared. Its programme was most comprehensive and the world entertained the highest expectations of it. Nevertheless, there has been a suspension of its work on account of divergencies of national economic policies. The fact has not been generally noticed that the prolonged battle between Inflationism and the Policy of price stabilization which has been raging throughout the post-war period found its climax at the present Conference—with very regrettable results. America sees before it a brilliant opportunity, not only of solving most of her economic troubles, but also of getting a start of other countries by adopting a policy of steady Reflation. Consequently, the President as well as his advisers threw over the idea of stabilization, although that ideal had been put in the fore-front of the programme which the President himself had expounded only a few weeks ago. The idea of any immediate exchange stabilization was disparagingly placed among "the old fetishes of so-called international bankers." It was also implied in the American proposal that, so far as the United States were concerned, the day of the return to an international gold standard should be considered as postponed *sine die*. But even from the point of view of national self-interest of the United States the policy of Inflation of an isolated character seems open to serious dangers. As Prof. T. E. Gregory has pointed out, anything like the use of the great powers of Inflation placed in the hands of Mr. Roosevelt might easily cause "a flight from the dollar." Then, again, should a determined Inflationist effort on the part of America drive the "gold-bloc" off gold the world would see a fall instead of a rise of prices. A similar result would appear if that policy of America would shake the position of the pound in the sterling-bloc. The same

economist has pointed out that the Inflationist programme of America has so far been of a very vague character and has failed to define the fundamental point—the price level which is proposed to be attained in that country as the result of the Inflation.

But not all the blame should be placed upon America in this matter, and the gold-bloc too has to shoulder its full share of it. They pushed forward their views regarding the return to gold and the stabilization of gold prices in too uncompromising a spirit. It was open to them to gain the co-operation of America by going a little way on the road to a Reflation strictly and internationally regulated. For there can be no question about the necessity of at least a moderate rise of world prices. Had they made proposals for such co-operation, the President and his advisers would have been obliged to make their programme of Inflation more concrete. In this way a clear idea could have been arrived at as to the extent of the rise of prices contemplated by the United States. The alarm that has been felt in the gold-bloc countries regarding the effects of the American proposals for Inflation could have been in this way sensibly abated. But, further, there were other problems before the Conference as to which co-operation was always possible ; and deliberation could have been carried on during the period necessary for a *rapprochement*. Thus an effort could have been made to tackle the problems of the rising flood of tariffs and the deterioration of commercial policy in general. It is much to be regretted that such opportunities have not been availed of. Nevertheless, it is well to note the general hope that the work will be continued under the auspices of the League and on the lines of the Conference ; for, thanks to the League, the idea of international co-operation on economic lines has been too deeply ingrained to be easily upset (not to say eradicated) by any temporary discouragement. We can still envisage the undertaking of more spade-work and the resumption of the tasks of the Conference at no distant date. Indeed, any further economic difficulties that America might encounter would have the effect of instilling into that country the lessons of a steady co-operation with the League. As it is, the co-operation of America with the League has been of a wavering and spasmodic character. Thus during the Manchurian discussions America showed an intense zeal for action by the League. On the other hand, in the course of the Conference of 1933 the anxiety for co-operation has become “small by degrees and beautifully less.”

Although for the time being the Economic Depression and the

political troubles of Europe had acted as brakes on the activities of the League yet it can be confidently expected that these very factors will teach the lessons of widening and deepening international co-operation. As a result the scope and efficacy of the League's work must necessarily expand. No doubt there has been manifested in some cases a tendency to revert to the former individualistic methods of diplomacy, and it has been pointed out that the Three Power Pact in London regarding Naval Disarmament as well as the separate discussions on the question of Reparations form illustrations of that tendency. As against this, it might be pointed out, however, that such individualistic or group diplomacy has not as yet secured any marked success in its efforts to avoid the forum of the League. Consequently this tendency to revert to the older methods of diplomacy is sure to meet with discouragement. Even supposing these attempts had met with some success, such partial successes in the sphere of disarmament would only have prepared the ground for carrying out the League's comprehensive task of general disarmament.

Nevertheless, it is the duty of the member-states and governments to check consciously such reversions to pre-war diplomacy. As has been suggested by Mr. Felix Morley, "the principle of direct contact between specialists with executive authority in their home governments has already done something to modify traditional national ideas of sovereignty." A time will come when the foreign Ministers or even the Prime Ministers of different states might have seats on the Council of the League. In any case what is essentially wanted is what Mr. Delisle Burns calls the modernization of Diplomacy. As he has justly pointed out, such modernized diplomacy will go beyond the ideas of "close" and selfish states and "assumes the existence of a state system in which each state is only a part"—a system which further accepts its inspiration from the League. Such a change in the methods of diplomacy must in its turn be based on the realisation and "understanding of the changed character of government in modern times." For it is obvious that, as that author remarks, the state is rapidly extending its functions, and many of these functions require co-operation across state frontiers. Consequently even the possibility of a war renders the performance of such functions either difficult or imperfect. It is therefore that diplomacy should learn the lesson that "the preparation for future war is obsolete." Here again it is the progress of public opinion that will count in remodelling diplomacy. Prof. Alfred Zimmermann has emphasized the fact very recently that "in spite of the defects which

ELEMENTS OF NEW GERMANY *

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I AM much obliged to your great poet who gave me the opportunity to speak before you about Germany's recent political development. You know how difficult it is to understand events which happen in foreign countries. The man in the street gets his political information from his daily paper, and generally he is inclined to believe it. It is the duty of the intelligentsia to study things more thoroughly and without prejudice. In the following I shall try to give you a true impression of present Germany. I intend to convince you rather more by facts than by persuasion and I shall be glad if I can succeed in my purpose to contribute to the mutual understanding between two great countries, the more as most friendly cultural relations always existed between India and Germany.

The making of the National Socialistic Movement is closely connected with after-war politics. The stupendous rise of National-Socialism directly results from the political and economical conditions under which Germany was compelled to live under the so-called Treaty of Versailles. But these influences from outside would not have been sufficient to create new Germany, and the break-down of the liberal parliamentary system would not have been so complete, if not the ideological basis of the constitution had been shaken and undermined long before. Our great philosopher Hegel said Reality cannot resist when the world of the ideas becomes revolutionized. *Ideas* as well as political and economical *facts* and currents have been active in order to establish a new regime.

Consequently I shall give you firstly a short survey of the after-war period, and after I shall design the lines of Germany's recent ideological development from which finally the present political situation was derived.

The *Treaty of Versailles* which was imposed upon defenceless Germany in June 1919, can rightly be considered one of the most brutal peace-treaties of modern history. I only mention here its most outstanding paragraphs.

* A lecture delivered at the Viswa-Bharati, Santiniketan, under the presidency of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore.

Surrender of Alsace and Lorraine to France, Posen, Western Prussia and Upper Silesia to Poland.

Handing over of all our Oversea-possessions to the Allies.

Separation of the Free City of Danzig and of the Saar District from Germany.

Reduction of the army to the standard of 100,000 men without any kind of modern equipment, as airplanes, tanks, heavy guns, etc.

Surrender of almost the whole navy and mercantile fleets to the Allies.

Obligation to pay all war damages, including pensions to war widows, orphans, veterans, etc., of all ex-enemies. Occupation of the Rhineland for a period of 15 years.

But not contented with the paragraphs which deprived us of our material wealth and strength the victorious Powers also tried to affect our national honour, to humiliate us and to denounce us for ever as the outlaws of mankind. We were coerced to acknowledge our sole responsibility for the war and to concede the extradition of our leaders, amongst them even Field Marshal Hindenburg, the present chief of our State. This latter paragraph never has been fulfilled owing to the exasperated and united resistance of the whole nation but it never has been formally abolished and clearly shows the spirit of the so-called peace-treaty and its originators. World opinion is beginning to consider that Treaty as the greatest wrong ever done to a civilized nation. The Allies had pretended during the war to fight for peace and justice, for liberty and democracy. They had declared not to fight against the German nation, but only against her leading class, her Dynasties, her so-called, "militarists and squires." Peace could be concluded easily, they had said, if the German people got rid of that sinister set of Prussian generals and land-owners and adopted a constitution on a parliamentary and democratic basis. President Wilson in his famous 14 points solemnly had promised peace on an ethical basis, and the German people, after a struggle of more than four years against an overwhelming coalition finally had yielded to the enemies' promises. Trusting upon the American President's declaration, our exhausted, but still resisting army retired from its strongholds in France and Belgium. In the dark winter of 1918-19 Germany changed into a democratic republic. It was the most dreary period of our history: people at home worn out by the then four years' lasting hunger-blockade, our youths lying in the graves on the battlefields in France and Belgium, in Italy, Russia, Palestine, Mesopotamia or on the bottom of the sea, those left behind

with the bitter feeling that their sacrifice was made in vain, the soldiers who have returned from the front fighting in the towns against the bolshevist revolt, law and order hardly maintained. In those days of hopeless depression, of anarchy, of civil war and complete national enervation, Germany's political transformation was accomplished more or less in accordance with the request of the victors. But as you have heard before, the political change had not the least influence on the decisions of the Peace Conference. Completely disarmed while the allied troops were standing on the Rhine, we had to accept the enemies' dictation, and before the constitution of the newly created Republic was formally adopted, her ministers had to sign the Treaty of Versailles. The connection between revolution, defeat and Republic was a bad start for the new State and German patriots never forgot that the Republic was born in the worst period of our history.

The victorious powers though they had praised the democratic and parliamentary system as the highest status to be aimed at did not do anything in order to make this system popular with the German people. During the first five years after the war, the unsettled problem of the so-called reparations was used as an instrument to encroach Germany's political and economical reconstruction. The total amount of the reparations which had not yet been nominated in the Treaty of Versailles was fixed in the ultimatum of London on the 5th May 1921, on 13,200 crores of gold marks that meant, then, about 10,000 crores of Rupees. As this phantastic sum could not be paid by gold or paper-money, a certain percentage of its value had to be delivered in goods. These material deliveries permanently served as a pretext for further intervention of the Allied Powers. On the end of 1922, the French delegates of the Commission of Reparations found certain irregularities in the shipment of woods and although the same amounted only to a few hundred telegraph posters, it was a sufficient justification for the French to occupy with military forces the whole of the Ruhr valley, our most important industrial district. This automatically stopped our payments of any kind. The passive resistance of the German population in the Ruhr taxed the capacity of the government to the utmost, for the government had not only to pay for the upkeep of the occupation army but also had to care and provide for the many hundred-thousands of fugitives and the transferred population. The government had also to pay to the industrial firms in the occupied area at least the wages and the salaries of employees who could not work during the occupation period. This drain upon the German finance was so terrific

that it gave the final impetus to what is known to the world as inflation of the German Mark.

After the provisional settlement of the problem of Reparations by the so-called *Dawes* plan, and later, by the *Young* plan an end of the reparation payments was definitely agreed last year at the Conference of Lausanne. Finally economical reflections proceeded to political aspirations and resentments of revenge. But the recognition of economical facts came too late. In the meantime our reparation payments and deliveries had strongly contributed to the outbreak of the economical crisis under which the whole world is still suffering. It does not need a special knowledge of political economy to see that international payments such as the reparations can be brought up only by enforced exports of the debtor country. Germany had to increase her exports in order to get the exchange which was necessary for the reparations. These our exports of course meant a strong competition to the same countries which were our reparation-creditors. The creditors in order to prevent the undesired competition raised their custom duties, so at the same time forbidding the imports of German goods and depriving Germany of its only means to fulfil her financial obligations. It was a vicious circle, which checked international trade and worsened unemployment firstly in Germany but subsequently in other countries too.

Though the problem of the reparations has now been settled there remains another question to be solved—the question of disarmament. As I mentioned before, Germany had been compelled to dissolve her army which was based on compulsory conscription. We were forced to drop it and to adopt a military system which does not correspond either to our history and tradition or to our geographic situation in the centre of Europe amidst neighbours who are armed to the teeth. Our present army of 100,000 men is not allowed to have heavy guns, tanks or aircraft. Even anti-aircraft artillery has been forbidden so that Germany is defenceless against bombing squadrons. Although our present army is well trained, it would be helpless in a modern war.

According to the Treaty of Versailles Germany's disarmament was meant to be the first step on the way to general disarmament. For 12 years the whole world has been kept waiting for that general disarmament and the last Disarmament Conference had to be adjourned without any hope that the next one will come to better results. The present status which makes a nation of 65 millions defenceless is unbearable for us. It creates a feeling of uncertainty which paralyzes

economical activities. Besides we have to ask why the League of Nations has been founded and dozens of non-aggression treaties have been concluded when other nations apparently do not trust these international guarantees, but only rely on their swords. *It is the fault of the victorious Powers* that our people became extremely suspicious against the phrases of pacifism and international understanding as they are used in Geneva. Pacifism had widely spread over Germany after the war. Even now, we do not ask for re-armament, only for equality of status. But it is no wonder that we try to awaken our youth to a strong patriotic spirit, as this is the only way to maintain our national existence. Even in a condition of military weakness a nation can be strong if she is united. It was this feeling which mainly made Germany ripe for the national-socialist revolution. In our condition we cannot afford any more the luxury of parties and parliaments with their fruitless talks and criticism but we have to stick together under one strong leadership. So, from outside, the Allies themselves made the parliamentary system unpopular in Germany. On the other hand it cannot be denied—and herewith I come to our internal development—that the policy carried on by our own parties was not suitable to instigate constructive work.

The young Republic was backed by Socialists, Democrats, and by the Catholic Centre Party whilst the Opposition mainly was formed by the Nationalists and later by the National-Socialists. The Socialist party's programme was based on the ideas of Marx, whose standard work "Capital" is known to you, as I suppose, either in its full contents or in its fundamental lines. The Socialist ideology is absolutely materialistic. Marx only recognizes economical interests as the decisive influence in the life of individuals as well as in history. From that conception, Marx comes to the conclusion that the last aim of human development is the material welfare of the society. As Marx believes that only material conditions and tendencies are efficient in the making of mankind he only recognizes the existence of groups of men who are connected by common economical interest, the so-called "classes," Marx emphasized on the international solidarity of the Proletarians of the whole world.

He taught them to consider the capitalists of their own country as their most dangerous enemies. Marx denied the existence of nations as those are formed by elements, which have no room in his historico-philosophical system, as race, language, culture, religion, etc. In accordance with Marx, citizens have to fight only for the dictatorship of the Proletariat, never for liberty and welfare of the nation.

The German Socialists though some of their leaders were honest and disinterested men not without patriotic feeling, never got rid of those Marxist ideas which spread more and more over the hand-working classes and alienated them to their natural love for nation and country.

The democratic party, which in the after-war period shared the government with the socialists, had different views on the political and economical organization of the state. Its ideas originated from the French Revolution. "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity for everybody." It is undeniable that the promulgation of these ideas, once, meant a step forward in the development of mankind and that the declaration of the "Right of man" was a necessity in a century of tyranny and absolutism. During the last century, the postulates of the great Revolution were more and more adopted by all nations and classes and changed into an unlimited individualism. Individualism, transferred to the economical sphere justified the rising of capitalism and the exploitation of the economically weak classes by a few enterprising capitalists. Politically, individualism undermined the feeling of social responsibility and national duty, and morally, it led to the decomposition of every ethical and religious bond. Unlimited individualism actually means egoism which is opposed to the commandments of every high ethics and religion.

Although Socialists, especially in the first years after the war, ruled the State without having to face any important opposition, they did not carry out their Marxist programme. They did not change private property into public property nor did they regulate production and distribution of goods. They did not fulfill Marx's postulates, because, since long and specially after the failure of the bolshevite experiment in Russia, they themselves doubted about its realisation. But, on the other hand, they did not avow their former errors and continued to preach hate against the bourgeoisie and to prophesize to the masses a happy future after the end of capitalism. They hampered private initiative by any way they could, bureaucratism, overtaxation and by an artificial system of social insurance which did not correspond to the actual capacity of the economy.

The internal administration of the State as carried on by the Socialists failed completely. Corruption, which was unknown in the Civil Service of pre-war Germany prevailed in every branch where Socialists had personal influence. I am sorry to say the history of our great Municipalities of Berlin for instance, during the last fifteen years, was full of scandals and, in every scandal leading men of the

Socialist party were involved. The low moral standard of the Socialist leaders became evident after Hitler's revolution. Scarcely one of the former big men dared to defy the new power or to put his existence or life on stake for the defence of his system. They hastily emigrated abroad and attacked their own country by a press-campaign from outside after having brought themselves into safety.

The Socialist Government was not only unable to handle the economical situation. The whole structure of Europe at certain moments after the war threatened to break up. Germany, as you know perhaps, was a federation of about 20 States with one Central Government. The biggest State was Prussia, but an important part was played by Bavaria, Saxony and others. Under the past monarchy, uniform policy of the Federation was guaranteed because almost all federal States were ruled by dynasties which were connected by common interest. The Chief of the German Empire was at the same time King of Prussia. So the biggest Federal State never was able to encroach the Policy of the Central Government. After the establishment of the Republic, however, that personal union between the Crowns of the Empire and Prussia was loosened. There were two governments, both in Berlin, which often pursued opposed aims because both depended upon fluctuating parliamentary majorities. Other difficulties came from the second Federal State, Bavaria. The Bavarians ever inclined to particularism and as their majority belonged to conservative parties, they were in permanent conflict with the Socialist-Democratic Government in Berlin. So Germany was split up not only in a dozen of parties and hundreds of economical groups, each busy to save its own egoistic interest, but the separatistic and egoistic tendencies awoke again and menaced the unity of the Empire. Patriotism was threatened to be suffocated by egoistic interest.

The feeling of uneasiness and uncertainty, which prevailed under such circumstances was strengthened by the expansion of Communism under the masses of the population. The Communist party, acting under the directions of Moscow, was rapidly growing. It did not at all hide its aims, but cynically spoke about the coming world revolution, the annihilation of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the Proletarians. The socialistic and democratic Government was neither able nor willing to face the bolshevist danger. The Socialists felt a certain affinity to their Marxist cousins and hoped to unite with them on the march against capitalism, while the democrats following their ideas of Freedom and Equality for everybody never allowed an energetic action against decided enemies of Constitution and Society.

The Communist deputies under the protection of their parliamentary immunity were allowed to declare war to law and order and to preach openly the revolution to the desperate masses. Under such circumstances oppression from outside disorder and mismanagement inside, a complete moral and political change was slowly going on. The decay of the socialist and democratic ideology became evident when their representatives were unable to avail themselves of the chance which history had given to them after the collapse of imperial Germany. It may be necessary to say that I do not speak here about the socialist or parliamentary democracy generally. I only speak about the value of these systems for Germany. Socialism may be good for Russia, Parliamentary democracy for England and other countries. They did not fit to Germany. That feeling became stronger and stronger until it reached its practical realization when Adolf Hitler was appointed Chancellor of the Reich in January, 1933.

I cannot deal here with every up and down of the National and National-Socialist movement during the past 15 years. I only wish to say that the patriotic movement after the breakdown 1918 grew up slowly and gradually and became deeply rooted under the masses of the population. The event which is generally called the National-Socialist "revolution" does not mean at all a breach of constitution of a minority, of a few fanatics who keep the population under an iron yoke. National-Socialism, a few years after it was started by Adolf Hitler, became a mass-movement, which did not need any anticonstitutional violence. Hitler availed himself of the ordinary constitutional machinery and vanquished parliamentary democracy by its very means, general election. Hitler, as the Leader of the biggest Party, was quite constitutionally appointed Chancellor by the President, and after his appointment, got a two-thirds majority which empowered his Government to carry out every kind of measures and reforms. Hitler enjoys the confidence of his electors as well as of the Parliament. The National-Socialist Government, in Germany, is based upon democracy in a better sense than before. Democracy here means discipline of the citizens under a leader of their confidence. The difference with the parliamentary democracy consists in the fact, that the Leader having got the necessary power is no more dependent on the confidence of the ever-fluctuating parliamentary majorities. That means that legislation gets extremely simplified and government can work without regard to any vote of censure.

National-Socialism wants to give a new feeling of national and social responsibility to every citizen. On the present stage of human

development the nation is considered the highest form of human community. The citizen, firstly, belongs to his nation, his private interests are postponed to the national necessities. The nation is entitled to request from her members every kind of sacrifice, even sacrifice of life. The egoistic, material instincts are replaced by a new idealism. Germany is returning to her best ethic and political traditions, as National-Socialism teaches the citizen that, firstly, he has duties, no rights, and that we do not live on earth to enjoy life, but to do our duty. The old Prussian State was built up by the same leading principle which is not easy and does not please everybody. But it is a heroic, manly conception of life and has—that is my personal feeling—a striking affinity which the ideal praised in the Bhagavadgita.

National Socialism gives a new and brighter outlook to the social question, the question how the natural differences between rich and poor, intelligentsia and illiterate masses can be compromised. Such differences will ever exist, but they can be modified. When all members of the nation are considered like relations of one great family, the exploitation of the economically weak groups must end. The rich have to treat the poor as their brethren, they have to help them to get a standard of life which corresponds to their dignity as German citizens. By this way, the Marxist idea of classes will be overcome. All that sounds very natural and plain but it was not plain at all after the period of inter-class struggle which now belongs to the past.

Let us see what kind of measures were taken by the National-Socialist Government in order to realize the new political conception; firstly, the old system of federal States which formed the German Empire had to go, regional sovereignty being incompatible with the conception of the united nation. The federal states were put under the rule of Lieutenants, who are appointed by the Chancellor. Now uniform policy in the whole Empire is guaranteed. The Central Government to-day is stronger than even under Bismarck, our Empire-builder. Particularism and centrifugal tendencies, which often were so dangerous to the unity of the nation, are abolished.

The Government further intends to replace the present representative system through general elections and parties by so-called Corporations, that means unions of the different professions, as hand-workers, intelligentsia, merchants, industrialists, bankers and so on. This scheme is still under consideration. When in force it will give a completely different aspect to the political and social life. As the

different corporations will have equal rights the inferiority complex of the handworking classes will disappear. Workmen will feel themselves as respected citizens with full rights and honours, no more as contemptible proletarians.

As to the economical programme of National-Socialism, it is not intended to encroach private initiative by political interference. On the other side economy as an important branch of national life has to subdue its interests to the general national necessities. Government will do its utmost to stimulate economical life. A grand scheme to fight against unemployment is already under work and Government tries in any way to instigate business. $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions out of 6 millions of unemployed have already been brought back to work by the measures of the Government. To give you an impression of the measures which Government has taken during the last months I mention the complete abolition of the wheel tax on motor cars. Consequently our motor car industry has already risen from its depression and many factories do night-work in order to satisfy increased demand.

Many dull things have been said about the foreign policy of National-Socialism. Germany, more than any other Nation, needs peace after a four-years' war and a fourteen-years' period of social and economical depression. The new Government wants calm in the sphere of foreign politics in order to carry out its programme of moral and economical reconstruction. Besides such practical reasons, the National-Socialist conception of the nation as the highest form of human community involves the recognition of the existence and individuality of foreign nations. Though the National-Socialist Government always will defend the rights and justified claims of Germany, it never will deny the same claims to other countries. The new Government will be—that is my deep conviction—a factor of stabilization in international politics. With a firm and steady hand it will settle the difficult problems which at present are disturbing the peace of Europe and the world. I am sorry to say that the proclamation speech which Chancellor Hitler made in the Reichstag Meeting on March 23rd was in the foreign press either passed with silence or criticized as hypocritical. Chancellor Hitler said: "The German nation wants to live in peace with the world. The Government of the Reich will, however, just for this reason, advocate the final elimination of the division of the nations of the earth into two categories. If this wound were to be kept open, it would lead the one to mistrust and the other to hatred and in consequence bring about general uncertainty

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The National Government is ready to extend a friendly hand of sincere understanding to any nation who is willing definitely and finally to close the sad chapter of the past." I think it is fair to give a chance to our Government and it is not fair to condemn its intentions as a matter of course.

Let me in the end say a few words about the problem of Jews in Germany which has excited the outside world much more than ourselves. The Jewish Community in Germany, which amounts only to 10% of the population, never became so completely assimilated with the nation as for instance, in England, France or other countries. But in spite of their small percentage the Jews were able to get an overwhelming influence in some most important spheres of national life, as in the press, on the stage, in literature, Universities, on the bar and in the Civil Service. Jews took a decisive part in the bolshevist revolts of 1918. Thousands of Jews fluctuated over our borders from Russia and Poland in the years after the war but they did not at all thank us for the hospitality we granted to them. They observed the disturbed economical conditions to make money out of our pockets. Nobody who does know Germany in these years from his own experience, should criticize the better feeling created from this situation. Nevertheless, the tale about pogroms in Germany are without any foundation. Legal measures have been taken against Jews so far as they were in the Civil Service. With some important exceptions they have to retire but get their pensions. Besides that marriages of German officials with Jewish girls are no more allowed in order to conserve the purity of the Aryan stock of the leading class, a measure which must be comprehensible to my Indian friends. Jews are absolutely free as to any activity in trade and commerce. The above-mentioned measures only aim to limit their *political* influence so long as they are felt as a heterogeneous element in our national body. However, I think it is our own business to put our house in order and everybody should deal with his own affairs.

I hope I succeeded in explaining before you the necessities which led to the foundation of our new State—pressure from outside, decomposition inside, and the knowledge that we could not handle the situation with a constitution which was based on a decaying ideology. We consider the National-Socialist revolution as a national renaissance, a liberation from political forms and ideas which we felt as relics of a past century, as heterogeneous and dangerous to our national individuality. Although we do not want to make National-Socialism an export article, we feel that it means a contribution to human progress.

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Germany has not "set the clock back." After the defeat, the complete collapse of our political power 1918, the complete loss of our national fortune, Germany under its new political form, under the third Realm as we call it, has sufficient energy to look at the future with fresh hope and to take up struggle of life with an optimism, which seemed impossible yet 6 months ago. That, at least, proves a wonderful vitality. As our new flag we have adopted the Swastika, the eternal Symbol of Sun and Life.

It is a truism that education of all grades has hitherto suffered in this country by reason of inadequate financial assistance from the State. Let us not forget that education is the one subject for which no people has ever yet paid too much. The more they pay, the richer they become, for nothing is so costly as ignorance, nothing is so cheap as knowledge. Explore the history of civilization, ancient and modern, you will find that the people who provide the greatest educational opportunities were always the most wealthy, the most respected, the most secure in the enjoyment of every right of person and property. This truth will be a hundredfold more manifest in the future than it has ever been in the past, as the struggle for existence grows keener and keener, and the very right arm of all future national power comes to rest in the education of the people. Yet, in these strenuous times, when government and institutions of all descriptions are beset with financial peril, notwithstanding unlimited powers of taxation which have been exercised to the utmost limit, we are reproached as bankrupt, because we have exhausted our resources in the fullest measure for the spread of high education and advancement of research. Those who admonish us forget that education is a necessary preparation for the discharge of civic functions in a progressive age and that indifference and hostility to the spread of education is liable to be attributed to the fear that knowledge and intelligence might create a wish for freedom.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee
in his Convocation Speech 1923.

IS RE-CONVERSION TO HINDUISM PERMISSIBLE ?

By PROF. D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., PH. D. (HON.):

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A FEW years ago when the celebrated Arya Samaj apostle, Swami Sraddhananda was living, the Hindu world was taken by surprise when the news spread that villages after villages which had been inhabited by the Muhammadan Malkana Rajputs were being reconverted to Hinduism. The Sanatanists and the orthodox Hindus began to shake their heads and question whether such a step was in consonance with the scriptures as it certainly was not in consonance with the practice. It is true that the Malkana Rajputs were originally converted to Muhammadanism by compulsion, that they were all along following their original Hindu customs and practices inspite of their outward change of faith and that they were always willing to come back into the Hindu fold provided they were allowed to do so. Although these things were highly in favour of the Malkana Rajputs, their actual reconversion to Hinduism shocked the orthodoxy of the Sanatanists and the High Priests of Hinduism who maintained that a Hindu to be a Hindu must be born a Hindu and that no religious rite could purify the fallen and re-admit them into the Hindu fold.

Every student of Indian History, however, knows that in ancient times many aboriginal and foreign races became hinduised and merged into the Hindu population. This process of absorption, so essential to the self-preservation and continuance of a race or people, ceased to operate at a time, not yet determined, when the Hindu society became crystallised into a rigid and impenetrable caste system, and the belief was engendered that a Hindu must be born a Hindu and that if he performed any socially heinous act, consciously or unconsciously, deliberately or even through compulsion, he lost his caste for ever and ceased to be a Hindu. There is no *śuddhi* that could afterwards purify him and restore him to his original status. Such is still the belief of many Hindus and particularly of the priestly classes. The question, however, arises: whether this was ever a fact before the Muhammadan domination was supreme over the whole of India, or, in other words, whether no *śuddhi* was even enjoined to

meet cases of any religious lapses or aberration, knowingly or unknowingly. This question we shall try to answer in this note as briefly as possible.

The present *śuddhi* movement, so far as we know, originated with the Arya Samaj. When the Malkana Rajputs were being taken back into the Hindu fold, it created a great furore in the Hindu society. In defence of their action the Arya Samajists were ransacking the Hindu scriptures with a view to find out whether they sanctioned such a step and laid down any purificatory rite for it. The Smṛiti literature, above all, was rigorously scrutinized with this object in view. Their efforts were crowned with success, and they lighted upon many such texts from the law books. They have been all culled together by Pandit J. B. Chaudhury, an Arya Samaj preacher, in the form of a brochure entitled *Śuddhi Sanātana Hai* which he published in 1930. He has therein discussed the subject from many points of view. What we are here concerned with is the quotations he has given from the Devala-Smṛiti, Atri-Samhita, and the Atri and Brihadyaṇa-Smṛiti.¹ This doubtless shows that there were more than one Smṛiti which enjoined *śuddhi* for all such cases. The most important of them, however, is the Devala-Smṛiti, and it is to this Smṛiti that I want respectfully to direct the attention of the social reformers as well as the students of history who are interested in the subject.

The sage Devala, we are told, was staying on the banks of the Sindhu, when the ascetics and saints approached him and questioned him on this subject of *śuddhi*. This is how the Devala-Smṛiti opens: "How, oh! blessed one," they asked "may the Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras, who have been carried away by the Mlechchhas, attain to purification? What ablution, what purificatory rite, what penance may be prescribed? What observance may they follow? Explain all that to us in detail." The answer to this question constitutes the end and scope of the Smṛiti which is a neat and tiny composition not exceeding ninety verses. Let us see what light it throws upon the Hindu society of the period of which we know so little.

We have already seen that the object of the Devala-Smṛiti is to prescribe *śuddhi* for all the orders of the Hindu society—the Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras—who have fallen into the clutches of the Mlechchhas. The question arises: by what

¹ These and others have been published under the title *Smṛitīnām samuchchayaḥ* in the Anandasraim Sanskrit Series (No. 48).

unfortunate circumstances could they have been reduced to these straits ? And we are told that their misfortune consisted in being captured or carried off by, or living together with, the Mlechchhas. This is how they became defiled, and stood in need of *suddhi*. What caused their actual impurity is further explained thus : "Being forcibly made slaves by the Mlechchhas, Chandalas and Dasyus, they were compelled to commit an impure act such as (1) the slaughter of the cow and other animals, (2) clearing or eating the leavings of their food, (3) eating the flesh of the donkey, camel or village-pig and (4) intercourse and dining together with their women." These are the modes of defilement, and various are the expiations laid down to remove them, which of course depend upon the nature and period of defilement. The period may extend from one month to twenty years.

Now, who are the Mlechchhas referred to in this Smriti ? To all appearances they are Muhammadans. In the first place, even a cursory perusal of this Smriti leaves the impression on the mind that in that period the forcible carrying away of the Hindus had become a matter of common occurrence. This is possible only at a time when there was a vigorous attempt on the part of the Muslim power to conquer India. The inference is supported in a two-fold manner. In the Smriti there is a distinct reference to the cases of persons whose father or mother had embraced the Mlechchha religion. In such cases the son is advised to offer *pindas* neither to his father nor to his mother who has been so converted, but to his grandfather and other forefathers. Surely no Indians are known to have espoused the Mlechchha religion up till the Muhammadan conquest. Many foreign hordes poured into India and occupied the different parts of the country. But they all became Hindus and were absorbed into the Hindu population. The phenomenon of a Hindu becoming a Mlechchha arose for the first time when the Muhammadans began to penetrate into this country. That this is the plausible view may be seen also from the fact that the Smriti speaks of Mlechchha-sabha in one place and enjoins expiation on Hindus who have touched or remained together for a long time with the Mlechchhas in such an assembly. With this may be coupled the fact that in another place the Smriti lays down an atonement for a Hindu who has been snatched away by the Mlechchhas but has thereafter returned to his country. These facts lead to the inference that the Muhammadans had at that time come right down to the frontiers of India or at the most conquered and occupied some of the frontier-districts, without being able to push their conquests

further into the interior. This receives confirmation from a passage of our Smṛiti which makes mention of such frontier provinces as were tabooed for a Hindu. Two of these are Sindhu and Sauvira, which a Hindu can visit on pain of performing a *śuddhi* on his return. Now, we know that in the time of Al-Masudi (A. D. 943) the Muslim power was confined to the two tiny principalities of Mansuhra and Multan¹ which regularly correspond to Sindhu and Sauvira. We shall not therefore be far from right if we assign the Devala-Smṛiti to the beginning of the 10th century A.D. We have seen above that when the ascetics and the saints approached the sage Devala for enlightenment on the subject of *śuddhi*, he was then living on the banks of the Sindhu which could not have been the Indus of Sind as it was already a Mlechchha country but must stand for Indus of the Punjab, just the place where the proselytising activities of the Muhammadans must have assumed a most aggressive form both from the south, *i.e.*, Multan, and from the west, *i.e.*, Afghanistan, which had then been subjected to the Islamic power. Then again we have to note that Devala, the author of our Smṛiti cannot be the Devala whose Smṛiti has been frequently adverted to by the commentators on law-books. To take one instance, Vijnanesvara (A.D. 1076-1126) who wrote a commentary on Yajñavalkya-Smṛiti has quoted many verses from Devala, none of which however is traceable in our Smṛiti. This indicates that there were two Devala-Smṛitis, one which was known to Vijnanesvara and which was a full-fledged Smṛiti, and the other the work which is here engaging our attention and which deals only with one subject, *viz.*, *śuddhi* of the Hindus that had been defiled through contact with the Mlechchhas. This latter surely was composed to meet a special situation, created by the advent of the Muslim power, whose over-ardent proselytising zeal began to affect Hindu society very seriously.

It will thus be seen that the Devala-Smṛiti which we are here considering deals solely with the question of reclaiming the Hindus who are defiled by contact with the Mlechchhas or the Muhammadans. And it is expressly laid down that everybody, male or female, healthy or diseased, shall perform a purificatory rite, if he or she is from eleven to eighty years old. That this picture of mass *śuddhi* depicted in our Smṛiti is real and not imaginary may be seen from what the Muhammadan historians themselves have written about this matter, as has been recently pointed out by Prof. A. S. Altekar.² To take

¹ Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 23-4.

² *Indian Review*, July, 1933, pp. 446-7.

one instance, during the Caliphate of Hisham (A.D. 724-43) Junaid was governor of Sind. It was he who sent expeditions into the interior of India and spread terror in Rajputana and Gujrat. Junaid was succeeded by Tamim, and the latter by Hakim. While Hakim was the governor, says Baladhuri, the people of Al-Hind apostatized and returned to idolatry, with the exception of the inhabitants of Kassah.¹ This means that all the Hindus, who had become Muslims in the parts of India subjected to the Islam power, again became Hindus as soon as this power crumbled up. This state of things, continued till the time of Al-Beruni (*circa* 1024 A.D.). "I have repeatedly been told," says he, "that when Hindu slaves (in Muslim countries) escape and return to their country and religion, the Hindus order that they should fast by way of expiation, then they bury them in the dung, stale, and milk of cows for a certain number of days, till they get into a state of fermentation. Then they drag them out of the dirt and give them similar dirt to eat, and more of the like."² It is true that Al-Beruni asked the Brahmans if this was true, but they denied it. This is intelligible enough, because that was a point on which the Muslims were then very touchy and a reply in the affirmative might probably had made them victims to their fanaticism. But there can be no doubt that *śuddhi* was in unabated vigour even in the time of Al-Beruni. How else could he be told, not once but *repeatedly*, that Hindu slaves became Hindus again on return to their country? How again could the mode of expiation referred to by him practically agree with that specified by Devala? There is therefore nothing surprising if the Christians or Muhammadans who were originally Hindus are taken back into the Hindu fold, provided they have still preserved their original Hindu customs and ceremonies.

What has been summarised from the Devala-smṛiti above is doubtless very interesting. But interesting though it is, it is not so important as that portion of it which has not yet been touched upon. Most of the cases of *śuddhi* adverted to above relate in the main to men, not to women. But we must remember that men alone were not seized upon by the Muhammadans. Women also were carried away as slaves. Naturally, therefore, purificatory rites have to be prescribed for them also. And so have they been prescribed by Devala. These do not differ materially from those laid

¹ Elliot, *loc. cit.*, p. 126. R. C. Majumdar, *The Arab Invasion of India*, p. 42 (reprinted from *Jour. Ind. His.*, Vol. X, Pt. I).

² Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Vol. II, pp. 162-3.

down for males. But women, just because they are women, give rise to special cases. To take one instance, what is their position in the Hindu society if they are ravished by the Mlechchhas and, what is worse if they thereby conceive? This was a special feature of the enslavement of women. And it may reasonably be asked whether Devala has tackled this question, and, if so, with what results. It is not the object of this note to go deep into the subject, and it will suffice here to say that according to Devala if a woman has been merely ravished by a Mlechchha but has not conceived, she can purify herself by a three days' fast. If, however, she has become pregnant, her relatives shall wait till she is delivered of a child, which should be given to somebody, otherwise it will create a *varna-samkara*. The woman should then undergo the necessary purificatory rite, and be received back into the caste. This foetus in her womb, says Devala, is like a thorn (*salya*) in her body, and when this foreign substance is once removed and she has had her monthly illness, she is as pure as gold (*kanchana*) freed from its dross. Devala's verses bearing upon this point are quoted also in the Atri-smṛiti and Atri-saṃhita. Again, Devala and Atri do not seem to be alone in this liberal treatment of women. Even Vijñanesvara expatiates on this subject in the same strain in his gloss III. 265 of the Yajñavalkya-smṛiti. There also he quotes verses from many smṛitis* to show that a woman can be taken back into the caste even if she is raped by a chandala, Pukkasa or Mlechchha. If that had not been the view of Vijñanesvara, he would fearlessly have combatted it as he does in the case of Sati.¹ In the latter case, being in favour of Sati, Vijñanesvara explains away all the Smṛiti texts that run contrary to it. But in the case of ravishment of women, he is in favour of taking back into the caste, and has therefore quoted many Smṛiti texts in support of his view. It is thus clear that up till the beginning of the twelfth century, that is, up till the time when Vijñanesvara lived, it was considered to be a correct procedure, both in North and South India, to purify a woman raped by a Mlechchha. This must smooth the path of the social reformers of India whose mind is at present being harrowed over the abduction of Hindu girls, which has become a menace almost as serious as terrorism to this province. It is true that these cases have mostly occurred in the lower classes of the Hindu Society, but they are by no means unknown among the higher classes also. Among the former, the girls,

¹ See his gloss on Yajñavalkya smṛiti, I. 86.

we are told, are generally taken back into the caste. But among the latter classes the unfortunate girls are for no fault of theirs discarded for ever by their husbands. And if they are received back by their parents, both are ruthlessly outcasted. Such is the Hindu Society of the modern day! Such is the gross and egregious injustice committed by Hindu (un-Aryan ?) Society upon the innocent people in spite of the clear injunctions to the contrary contained in the scriptures. Such a thing is unheard of in any civilised society, be it Jewish, Muhammadan or Christian.

Hindu Society is on its trial. There was a time when any foreigner could become a Hindu. Whatever foreign tribes entered India, they became hinduised and gradually lost into the Hindu masses. Even the self-complacent Greeks, who were proud of their Hellenism and branded all foreigners as barbarians, were glad to become either Buddhists or Vaishnavas. This state of things continued till in the seventh century A.D. the tide of Islamic invasion broke upon India, and the Hindus themselves were being converted to the Muslim faith. Even after this cataclysm which threatened Hindu Society Hinduism began and continued wonderfully to tide over for centuries by reclaiming all Hindus that were converted to Muhammadanism. But disintegration set in, and a time came, not yet determined, when Hinduism ceased to be virile. The proselytising activity of Hinduism, which was once noted for its overwhelming force and extended sweep, began gradually to ebb and contract till it is now completely extinct, and the slogan is repeated *ad nauseam* that a Hindu to be a Hindu must be born a Hindu. What is worse, the ranks of Hindu Society are being thinned away by the fervid missionary fervour of the rival religions, Christianity and Muhammadanism. And what is worst, the untouchable and despised castes which were once proud to call themselves Hindus are now threatening to secede, before being completely absorbed into the Hindu population. When the power of assimilation is once gone, anæmia, toxæmia and motor paralysis must be the consequence. It is therefore no wonder if the Hindu Society is now in a moribund condition. Let us see what means the Hindu leaders and the Hindu Mahasabha are devising to galvanise it into activity. A more adequate proportion of votes in a legislative council or assembly will not suffice. Some far-reaching and constructive measures are required to restore its assimilation and rejuvenate its social system so as to enable it to regain its original activity of conversion and reconversion. Otherwise the Hindu Society will before long be a defunct body.

RECOVERY OF CALCUTTA BY THE ENGLISH IN 1757

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(I)

AFTER reaching Calcutta Sirajuddowla overwhelmed the Company's troops in Bengal. The English were utterly humiliated, and their Governor, with other fugitives at Fulta, had to spend very bitter days for want of provisions and shelter.¹ At last on the 13th of July, 1756, Mr. Drake decided to despatch Mr. Manningham and a French Officer Lebeaume, to Madras, in order to unfold there the story of their disaster and to ask for help and reinforcements for the recovery of Calcutta. So on the 14th of July, Manningham, accompanied by Lieutenant Lebeaume, sailed on board the *Syren*² with the following letter from the Council at Fulta to the Council at Fort St. George: "Our utmost efforts have been employed to dispatch to you sooner the intelligence of the capture of Calcutta by the Moors acting under orders of Souragge Dowlat, the New Nawab, which account we doubt not have reached you before this can possibly arrive by means of Pattamars (couriers) from the Shroffs or Foreign Nations. A narrative of this unhappy event will be in our opinion faithfully related to you by Mr. Charles Manningham, which we have not time to commit at present to writing. The above gentlemen we depute to your Honour, etc., on the United East India Company's behalf, and require from his representation that you will support us with the whole force, you can obtain on your coast, Military and Marine together with a sufficient quantity of Ammunition, cannon and all other warlike stores Military and Marine, which may enable us to re-establish ourselves in those Provinces, which we esteem of the most essential consequence to the East India Company and trade of India in General."³ Manningham's ship arrived at Vizagapatam on 12th August but was detained there for about a month owing to a heavy downpour and the consequent difficulty of procuring palanquin-bearers. But he sent the Bengal Council's letter to Madras through M. Lebeaume on 28th August.⁴

¹ Letter from Drake, Manningham, etc., to William Watts and Matthew Collet, dated on Board ship "Doddale" off Fulta, the 6th July, 1756.

² Hill, *Bengal in 1756-57*, Vol. I, p. 195.

³ *Bengal and Madras Papers* (I.R.D.), Vol. II.

⁴ Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 242.

Already in response to the Bengal Council's previous letters regarding the Nawab's hostile behaviour towards the Company, the Madras authorities had sent on 20th July a detachment of 230 men, mostly European,¹ on board the *Delaware* under the command of Major Killpatrick. Major Killpatrick arrived at Fulta on 30th July and found himself placed in a very bad situation "amidst gentlemen, driven out from their habitations, driven out from all they have in the world, and what is worst, having lost all or almost all that had been committed to their charge, where many people around them who have also lost their all, are discontented and even troublesome, pretending to find fault and give their opinions without showing that respect which they ought."² So, with insufficient troops and ammunition, and owing to the prevalence of sickness among his soldiers Major Killpatrick could not undertake any offensive action.³

He had to wait for further reinforcements from Madras,⁴ but before these could reach, he tried to humour the Nawab and to cultivate his friendship through some of his friends. On the 15th of August the Major wrote a letter to the Nawab "complaining a little of the hard usage of the English Honorable Company, assuring him of his good intentions notwithstanding what had happened, and begging in the meantime, till things were cleared up, that he would treat him at least as a friend," and would give orders that his people might be supplied with sufficient provisions.⁵ On 22nd August he himself received a letter from Omichand "assuring him of his good intentions and of the desire he had to serve him." That letter was sent through Coja Petrus and Abraham Jacobs, who promised "great things from Omichand as greatly in the interest of the Honorable Company" and at the same time advised the Major to write complimentary letters to Raja Manikchand, Jagat Seth, Coja Wajid and Raja Dewpal (Devapal).⁶

In the meantime news of the capture of Calcutta had reached Mr. Pigot on 16th August through a letter written to him by Messrs. Walts and Collet,⁷ and on the next day he informed his Council about it.⁸ In consideration of the "great importance of the Settlement of Calcutta to the Company," the Council

¹ Orme, *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Hindusthan*, Vol. II, p. 84.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 197, and Vol. II, pp. 80-94.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Consultation on board the *Phoenix Schooner*, Fulta, 22nd August, 1756.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Hill, *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 204.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

agreed that "the utmost efforts should be made to recover it"¹ and thought it desirable to consult Mr. Watson in the matter. On a special request² Admiral Watson and Admiral Pocock attended the Council next day, and offered to use their squadron for the Company's services in Bengal. The Council then resolved to send a small force with the object of recapturing Calcutta only but Admiral Watson was not disposed to send the expedition before the end of September and wrote the following letter to the Council on 25th August: "And having further considered this expedition, I am apt to think, if it is delayed, till the last week in next month, there will be a much greater probability of success attending it than if the ships were to proceed immediately, as they will then escape the rainy season which is allowed by everybody to be the most unhealthy part of the year, and in all appearance, if the ships were to go now, one third of the men would fall sick before there would be an opportunity of doing any service."³ After a long debate it was unanimously resolved on 26th August that "Admiral Watson be desired to send the Fifty and Twenty Gun ships down to Bengal, with about two hundred and forty military with the intent to re-take Calcutta only without attempting anything more until joined by further succours, and that all necessary preparations be made, as expeditiously as possible, to send all the Forces that can be spared from hence with the remainder of the squadron, if in the interim the expected Advices from Europe (about the outbreak of a war with the French)⁴ should make it necessary to alter these measures." It was also decided to write to the Council at Fulta informing them of that decision and advising them "not to conclude any terms with the Nabob, but if he should be inclined to treat, amuse him" until they received further forces or advice from Madras.⁵

The Council met again on 29th August when the first point of consideration was whether the survivors of the late Council in Bengal still retain the same powers and rights as they had before. After a long debate the question was decided in the affirmative.⁶ The resolutions of the 26th instant were also altered, and it was resolved that "Admiral Watson be desired to suspend any orders he may have given for the departure of the Fifty and Twenty Gun ships and that the

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*, pp. 199-200.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 206.

⁴ Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 85.

⁵ Consultations at St. George, 26th August, 1756, Bengal and Madras Papers, Vol. II (I. R. D.).

⁶ Consultations at Fort St. George, 29th August, 1756, Bengal and Madras Papers, Vol. II (I. R. D.); Ives' Voyage, p. 94.

Embarkation of the Men intended to be sent on them be also countermanded. That in case the expected ships from England should not bring the news of a war with France, Admiral Watson be then desired to proceed down to Bengal with the whole squadron at once. That Colonel Adlercorn be desired to proceed on the squadron with his whole regiment and Train of Artillery. And that all preparations of stores and necessaries be made with all possible Expedition, in the same manner they would be, were it peremptorily resolved such an expedition should proceed at all events." ¹ The Madras authorities were relieved of a great anxiety when the Company's ships *Chesterfield* and *Walpole* arrived from England on 19th September without any news of the actual outbreak of war. ²

But there were also other issues which demanded solution before the expedition to Bengal could be undertaken. There was difference of opinion as to who should command the land forces, what should be the extent of his authority in military operations and in negotiations with the Nawab, and what should be done with the captures of the war, etc. ³ A Council of War, held at St. Thomas Mount near Fort St. George, on 20th September, 1756, decided to send the expedition under their own officers and troops at Madras from considerations of material necessity. ⁴ Six hundred rank and file and one hundred of the trained were ordered for the expedition under the command of Colonel Clive. It was decided that Mr. Smith, a member of the Madras Council, and Mr. John Walsh should be joined with Colonel Clive as deputies from the Madras Council and Mr. Maunsell should also accompany him. The Council also agreed to give the following powers and instructions to Messrs. Clive, Smith, and Walsh :

" (I) That the Gentlemen at Calcutta be desired by us to form a plan of a Treaty which the Deputys be directed to adide by the

¹ Consultation at St. George, 29th August, 1756, Bengal and Madras Papers, Vol. II (I. R. D.). About the reasons for arriving at this resolution *vide* Letter from the Select Committee, Fort Saint George, to the Select Committee, Fort William, dated 21 February, 1757. Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 232-233.

² Letter from Fort Saint George to the Court of Directors, dated 13th October, 1756, Bengal and Madras Papers, Vol. II.

³ Orme, Vol. II, p. 87.

⁴ (a) ".....the steps which in case of the expected success may be thought proper to be taken for the benefit of the Company's Interest will be indisputably placed in the power of their servants who will be subject to our orders." (b) ".....in case the Nabob should not by treaty make ample Reparation for the immense damages the Company have sustained by his violences, it is the Intention of the Board to reimburse the Company as far as possible by Reprisals. But as the Board are uncertain whether the laws direct distribution of things acquired by arms, the duty they owe the Company demands that a matter of such Importance be not left in doubt and liable to contest when they may have it in their power to secure the property of such Acquisitions to the Company by employing their own officers and troops."—Bengal and Madras Papers, Vol. II.

tenour of, and make the basis of their correspondence or transactions with the Nabob.

(II) That Colonel Clive be directed to proceed to all such Hostilities as he thinks will most likely bring the Nabob to those terms until he has had the success to do so, or until he find utterly impracticable, or he is recalled by us.'

(III) ' That the Deputys be desired to receive and attend to the Advice of the Gentlemen at Bengal, to weigh the same maturely, and if they think proper to deviate from it in any respect that they have the power to do so, but on assigning reasons to us to be transmitted to the Company.'

(IV) ' That the Deputys be directed to re-establish the Gentlemen of Bengal in Calcutta as soon as their successes shall render it proper, and that they do when the place is in a sufficient state of security put these Gentlemen in possession of all such part of Company's Effects as shall remain with them, and be of no further use to them. And that in case the Nabob should agree to a reasonable treaty with the English, that they do put all the possessions acquired by the Treaty under their management.'"¹

It should be noted here that according to the Court of Directors' letter of 13th February, 1756, sent through *Walpole* and *Chesterfield*, "the management of all affairs of war and diplomacy" had been transferred into the hands of the Select Committees at Madras and Bengal. So, on 22nd September, the Select Committee undertook the management of the Bengal expedition. According to the desires of the Select Committee, the Council, in its sitting of 28th September, granted a commission appointing Colonel Clive as the Commander-in-chief of "all the troops sent and to be sent on the Expedition to Bengal" and also empowering Major Killpatrick to succeed him in the command in case of his death and absence. The Council also granted 40,00,000 Arcot rupees to the treasury on account of the Bengal expedition, and 40,000 Arcot rupees and 3,250 pagodas to Mr. Walsh, Paymaster to the Bengal expedition, for meeting the expenses there.²

At the sitting of the Select Committee on 29th September,³ Mr. Watson, who had been entrusted with the command of the expedition to Bengal by sea, recommended that "it be conducted in all respects like that to Gheria." With regard to the expedition to Gheria it is to be noted that Mr. Watson and Mr. Pocock were joined with

¹ *Ibid.*

² Consultations at Fort St. George, 28th September, 1756, Bengal and Madras Papers, Vol. II.

³ Consultations at Fort St. George, 29th September, 1756, *ibid.*

Colonel Clive and Mr. Hough in a commission for the conduct of the expedition and that every thing taken at Gheria, even the guns and ammunition, " was appropriated to the benefit of the captors, although the Company was at the whole expense of fitting out the Armament and also at repairing the damage done to his Majesty's ships." But the Committee did not accept Mr. Watson's recommendations on the ground that there was a great difference between the expedition to Gheria and the intended expedition to Bengal. The former was, as the Committee pointed out, meant for rooting out a " robber who had long infested the seas and so to give a future security to their Trade, and by the capture of his places to acquire new possessions to themselves "; while the latter was " intended for the recovery of the Ancient Rights and Privileges of the East India Company, which have suddenly been wrested from them, and to reimburse by reprisals, if all other means prove ineffectual, the immense loss they have so recently sustained in their own property." The Committee, therefore, thought it proper " to exert their utmost efforts to secure to the Company that immediate possession of their own settlements that may be retaken and such portion of the reprisals that may be made upon the Moors." Mr. Watson assured the Committee that, so far as his personal advantages were concerned, he was ready to forego these for the benefit of the Company, but as the interests of everyone in the squadron were concerned he wanted to lay the proposal immediately before a Council and promised that he would communicate the results as soon as possible. The Select Committee framed the following regulations for the Councils of War that might be held in Bengal, with the unanimous consent of Mr. Watson, Mr. Pocock and Colonel Clive: (i) "at all councils of War held on board his Majesty's Ships, the Commanding Officer of the ships shall preside, and call to his assistance such other Captains of the squadron as he shall see proper, together with Colonel Clive and any other Field Officer ;" (ii) " at all Councils of War held on shore Colonel Clive shall preside, and call to his assistance such Field Officers as he shall see proper, together with the Captains of such part of the squadron as are employed on the joint service. This is understood to be in the absence of any Flag Officer."

Mr. Manningham, who had arrived from Vizagapatam to Fort St. George, on 29th September, objected to the resolutions of 21st September, which gave the Deputies the powers to deal with the affairs in Bengal and to put the gentlemen there in a proper position, after Clive's military success had made their position secure. He

argued that the investment of such powers to these deputies meant that the Council of Bengal had no existence of its own. The question was much debated. Messrs. Clive and Orme were in favour of the resolutions of 21st September but at last they had to submit to the opinion of the majority of the members, who decided, on the 1st of October,¹ that the deputies would not be sent and the Council of Bengal should be entrusted with those powers. Colonel Clive, who was invested with independent powers to deal with "all military matters and operations" was also furnished with sufficient money and was empowered to draw bills.² He was advised to "weigh and consider well the plans he shall receive from the before-mentioned Select Committee of Bengal, and in case he shall judge any part of them not to tend to the most speedy and efficacious method of obtaining the hoped-for advantages to the Company, then to give his best advice on the subject to those gentlemen, and in case their opinions should still differ, then finally to pursue those measures which he shall judge to be most for the Company's benefit," stating clearly to the Madras authorities his reasons for such a proceeding, as these were to be referred to the Court of Directors.³ He was also furnished with an independent power to return back to the coast in case his recall there was demanded by the outbreak of a war with the French or by any other emergencies.⁴ We should note that the object of the Madras authorities in sending out this expedition, as they pointed out in their letter to the Select Committee in Bengal, dated 13th October, 1756, was not merely to retake Calcutta or recover their lost settlements and factories, but also to have "all their privileges established in the full extent granted by the Great Mogul (Emperor Farrukhsiyar) and ample reparation made to them for the loss they have lately sustained."⁵ They were, however, of opinion that "should the Nabob on the arrival of these forces make offers tending to the acquiring to the Company the before-mentioned advantages" then the "sentiments of revenging injuries, although they were never more just, should give place to the necessity of sparing as far as possible the many bad consequences of war, besides the expense of the Company's treasuries"; but they mentioned that "sword

¹ Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 223-227; Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 88; Ives' Voyage, p. 94. Ives' notes, on the authority of Admiral Watson's Secretary, that the Admiral was strongly in favour of retaining these powers in the hand of the Council in Bengal. This is also supported by the correspondence between Admiral Watson and the Select Committee at Fort St. George, 30th September, 1756.

² Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 88.

³ Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 225.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 237-241.

⁵ *Ibid.*

should go hand in hand with the pen, and that on the arrival of the present armament, hostilities should immediately commence with the utmost vigour. These hostilities must be of every kind which can either distress his dominions and estate or bring reprisals into our possession."

(II)

On the 16th of October, 1756, the fleet under the command of Admiral Watson, "being victualled and watered for six weeks," sailed from Madras.¹

Colonel Clive took with him letters written by Salabat Jung, Nawab of the Deccan, by Muhammad Ali, Nawab of Arcot, and by Mr. Pigot "exhorting Surajah Dowlah to make immediate reparation for the injuries and calamities which the English had suffered from his unprovoked resentment."²

The whole squadron had to encounter various difficulties and distresses before it reached Fulta, chiefly owing to the heavy rains in Bengal of the months of July, August and September.³ Admiral Watson tried his best to make way to Balasore Road, but was obstructed by "trifling winds and strong southerly currents" and found his squadron driving for three weeks to the southward till it got into the Latitude of 6°30' N.⁴ On the 10th of November "the appearance of a tedious passage obliged the squadron to be put to two-thirds allowance."⁵ On 15th November the seamen and military were put to half allowance of provisions, and two-thirds allowance of water, and many of them were attacked with scurvy.⁶ Next day *Marlborough*, one of the Company's ships, sailing very heavily, was left behind by the rest of the fleet, which reached the ground of Point Palmiras on 1st December.⁷ On 4th the squadron came accross a pilot sloop and took on board Mr. Grant, the pilot. About this time the Military and the seamen were put to a great distress for want of water and provisions and many were down with scurvy.⁸ Mr. Scrafton observes that "when the forces came from Madras, they were greatly reduced for provisions, in so much that there was no rice left for the Gentoo (Hindu) Seapoys, and nothing

¹ Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 30-401; Ives' Voyage, p. 95.

² Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 89.

³ Ives' Voyage, p. 96; Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 119.

⁴ Watson's Letter to Cleveland, dated 31st January, 1757.

⁵ Journal of the Expedition to Bengal, etc; Orme, Vol. II, p. 119.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Orme, Vol. II, p. 119; Journal of the Expedition, etc.; Watson's letter to Cleveland, dated 31st January, 1757; Ives' Voyage, p. 97.

⁸ *Ibid.*

to serve out to them but beef and pork ; but though some did submit to this defilement, yet many preferred a languishing death by famine to life polluted beyond recovery."¹

On the 5th of December Admiral Watson anchored in Balasore Roads, and was joined on 8th by the *Tyger* and *Walpole*. On that day the Admiral met Messrs. Watts and Becher, who had been deputed to him from the Governor and Council at Fulta, to acquaint him with the miserable state of their affairs as well as of the detachment sent under Major Killpatrick, of which only thirty men were fit for duty.² The Admiral then consulted the two English pilots, who had come with Messrs. Watts and Becher, about carrying the *Kent* and *Tyger* over the braces. The pilots were of opinion that it might be done with safety during the springs, and said that if the Admiral permitted them, they would take charge of the ships up the river to Fulta. Encouraged by Captain Speke, who had been before several times in the river, the Admiral decided to make an attempt. On 12th he reached Injee and on the next day anchored at Culpee, where Messrs. Drake and Hollwell waited upon the Admiral and Colonel Clive.³ On 14th the Admiral wrote to Mr. Bisdom at Chinsura and Mr. Renault at Chandernagore warning them against giving any assistance to the Nawab.⁴ Mr. Bisdom replied to his letter on 19th by promising to observe neutrality.

On the 15th of December, the Admiral reached Fulta in Company with the *Tyger* and *Walpole*, and found there the *Delaware*, the *Protector*, and the *Kingfisher*, whom he had sent from Madras, sometime before the squadron sailed, to inform Mr. Drake and his followers of the squadron's advance for their assistance.⁵ On the same day Colonel Clive opened negotiations with Manikchand, the Nawab's Governor in Calcutta, by writing a letter to him and also sending him a draft of a letter for the Nawab.⁶ Manikchand replied to his letter on 23rd December and sent his agent Radhakrishna Mallik to him. He pointed out that the letter intended to be sent to the Nawab had been written in improper terms, and suggested that it might be rewritten in a milder tone.⁷ But Colonel Clive replied that he could not accept his suggestion of writing to the Nawab "a

¹ Reflections on the Government of Indostan, p. 11.

² Watson's letter to Cleveland, dated 31st January, 1757. Journal of the Expedition to Bengal, etc. Ives' Voyage, p. 97.

³ Journal of the Expedition, etc.

⁴ Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 54.

⁵ Watson's letter to Cleveland, dated 31st January, 1757; Journal of the Expedition, etc.; Ives' Voyage, p. 97.

⁶ Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 56.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 74; Orme, Vol. II, p. 121.

letter couched in such a stile (style) which, however proper it might have been before the taking of Calcutta, would but ill suit with the present time, when we are come to demand satisfaction for the injuries done to us by the Nabob, not to entreat his favour, and with a force which we think sufficient to vindicate our claim."¹ On 16th the Company's troops and sepoy on the *Kent*, *Tyger* and *Walpole* landed at Fulta and joined the detachment under Major Killpatrick; the military encamped in a place to the eastward of the town, and the sepoy were placed on the roads leading to it.² On the same day Admiral Watson wrote to the Dutch asking for the help of their pilots but the latter expressed their inability to help him with these.³

On hearing of the arrival of the squadron, the Nawab's officers in Calcutta, "not thinking the forts of Tanna and Busbudgia (Buzbuz) to be a sufficient defence, were raising new works on the banks of the River."⁴ They commenced the erection of a fort, called by them Alinagur, "on the bank of the river opposite to Tanna; but only a part of the rampart commanding the river was finished."⁵ On the 17th of December both Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive⁶ wrote directly to the Nawab in strong and threatening terms.⁷ The Admiral did not receive any reply from the Nawab. On 25th the pilots acquainted the Admiral that the time was favourable for advance, and on 27th he sailed from Fulta with the *Kent*, *Tyger*, *Salisbury*, *Bridgewater* and *Kingfisher*.⁸ The sepoy were ordered to march overland⁹ against Colonel Clive's wishes,¹⁰ and Captain Barker followed in boats with 80 of the train and two field pieces properly completed.¹¹ Next day, at about three in the afternoon, the troops and two field pieces landed at Mayapur, where they joined the sepoy. At five in the evening they marched from Mayapur, under the command of Colonel Clive and conducted by "Indian guides," in order to lay in an ambuscade on the roads leading from the fort of Buzbuz to Calcutta and Alinagur, and by that means to intercept the retreat of the Nawab's people to those places.¹² For

¹ *Ibid*, p. 76.

² Journal of the Expedition, etc.

³ Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 72.

⁴ Watson's letter to Cleveland, dated 31st January, 1757.

⁵ Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 121.

⁶ Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 71.

⁷ Ives' Voyage, p. 98; Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 70.

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 121; Watson's letter to Cleveland, dated 31st January, 1757; Ives' Voyage, p. 99.

⁹ A journal of the expedition to Bengal, etc.

¹⁰ Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 95-98.

¹¹ A Journal of the Expedition to Bengal, etc.

¹² Orme, Vol. II, p. 122; Journal of the Expedition to Bengal, etc.

this they had to undergo "infinite labour and fatigue by a continued march all night, which was made difficult by the deep creeks and morasses the troops and cannon were obliged to pass."¹ At 8 in the morning they passed through Paikpara, and after an hour halted at the place of ambuscade, "having the ships at anchor in view, though not the fort which was obscured by clusters of trees."² Kesar Singh, the Commander of the sepoys, with two hundred sepoys. and Captain Pye, at the head of the Grenadier Company and the rest of the sepoys, were ordered to reconnoitre Captain Cauppe with his Company, and the volunteers were posted on the Calcutta Road to inform timely if the Nawab's troops approached by that way.³ The rest of the troops, about 260 Europeans, remained with Colonel Clive. The soldiers were so fatigued that they left their arms in order to take some rest; but they fell suddenly asleep without taking the precaution of stationing sentinels.⁴ Clive had no knowledge of the fact⁵ that Manickchand, the Governor of Calcutta, had arrived the day before to Buzbuz with 1,500 cavalry and 2,000 infantry.⁶ With this body of troops the latter made a sudden attack on Clive at about 10 o'clock.⁷ The surprise attack at first created a panic and confusion in the rank of Clive's troops; the forces of Manickchand advanced and kept up a continual, though irregular fire wounding several, and killing an ensign."⁸ But the advance of two platoons soon dislodged them from their position, and Manickchand had to retreat to Calcutta on his elephant.⁹ The skirmish lasted for half an hour in which the English lost Ensign Kerr with 11 private men and about twenty were slightly wounded.¹⁰ On the side of Manickchand 150 men were killed and wounded with four *Jamaddars* and an elephant. Manickchand himself received a shot on his turban.¹¹

The fleet arrived before the fort at about 7 A. M. and at half past seven Manickchand's people began to fire on the *Tyger* from inside the fort.¹² At noon the cannon of the fort was "silenced by

¹ *Ibid.*

² A Journal of the Expedition to Bengal, etc.; Clive's Letter to Pigot, dated 8th January, 1757.

³ Journal of the Expedition to Bengal, etc.

⁴ Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 123.

⁵ Clive's letter to Pigot, dated 8th January, 1757.

⁶ Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 123.

⁷ Letter from Clive to Pigot, dated 8th January, 1757.

⁸ Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 123.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Watson's Letter to Cleveland, dated 31st January, 1757.

¹¹ Clive's Letter to Pigot, dated the 8th January, 1757; A Journal of the Expedition, etc., Ives' Voyage, p. 97.

¹² Ives' Voyage, p. 98; Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 3.

the squadron" ¹ but the English forces, who had "marched down to the advanced battery near the river which the enemy had abandoned in the morning," and had drawn up "in front of the fort under cover of a high bank" ² and had an intention to storm the fort before night, fired some guns for most part of the day.³ At 7 p. m. the Admiral sent Captain King with 100 seamen ⁴ to storm the fort by that evening; but it was deferred till the next morning ⁵ at the suggestion of Colonel Clive, who pointed out that he himself, Major Killpatrick, and other soldiers were extremely fatigued on account of the last night's tedious march. ⁶ So all thought it proper to take rest for that night. But suddenly, amidst "a loud and universal acclamation," the Admiral heard that the fort had been taken by storm,⁷ due to the exuberance of a drunken sailor, belonging to the *Kent*, named Straban. Thus as Coote observes in his Journal, "the place was taken without the least honour to any one." One Captain Campbell lost his life "as he was posting sentries over a magazine" ⁸ and four soldiers were wounded.⁷ With this loss only, the English captured the fort which was "extremely well-situated for defence, and had the advantage of a wet ditch round it."⁸ Captain Coote remained in charge of the fort for the night.⁹ Next day (30th December) the troops re-embarked in the evening after "disabling the guns, carrying off the powder, demolishing the parapets of the fort and batteries and burning the houses."¹⁰ The sepoy marched along the bank of the river and the squadron proceeded up the river throughout the whole of the next day.¹¹

At 5 A. M. on the 2nd of January, the Company's troops being joined by the sepoy, marched towards Calcutta.¹² Thinking that two ships would enable him to attack Calcutta, Admiral Watson proceeded with the *Tyger* and the *Kent*, leaving *Salisbury* at Tannah "as a guardship to prevent the enemy from regaining it."¹³ The

¹ Ives' Voyage, p. 100.

² A Journal of the Expedition to Bengal, etc.

³ Watson's Letter to Cleveland, dated the 31st January, 1759.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Orme, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 124.

⁶ Coote's Journal, Hill, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 39-41.

⁷ Ives' Voyage, p. 83; Watson's Letter to Cleveland, dated the 31st January 1757.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Watson's letter to Cleveland, dated the 31st January, 1757.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*; Coote's Journal.

¹¹ *Ibid.*; Coote's Journal.

¹² A Journal of the Expedition to Bengal, etc.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Ives' Voyage, p. 101.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Journal of the Expedition to Bengal, etc.; Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 125.

¹⁵ Watson's Letter to Cleveland, dated the 31st January, 1757; Ives' Voyage p. 101.

Tyger, which was the leading ship, was within sight of Calcutta at about 9 A. M. and at forty-five minutes past nine the Nawab's troops began to fire upon her from their batteries below Calcutta¹ killing and wounding several men.² At twenty minutes past ten, "the *Tyger* anchored abreast the line of guns at Calcutta, at half an hour after the *Kent* anchored."³ Both the ships then began to fire so warmly that at eleven the Nawab's troops were compelled to run away from the fort.⁴ According to the Admiral's orders Captain King took possession of the fort in the name of His Majesty the King of England and it was garrisoned with a detachment of Aldercron's regiment under the command of Captain Coote, who received the following instructions from the Admiral: "You are hereby required and directed to garrison the fort of Calcutta with His Majesty's troops you have now on shore, and take care to post your sentinels and guards so as not to be surprised by the enemy. In the evening I shall be on shore, and you are not to quit your post, or deliver up your command till further orders from me. During your continuance on shore you are to take care that no disorders be committed by his majesty's troops or any other people, but to treat the natives with humanity and take particular care that there is no plundering, as such offenders may depend on the severest punishment."⁵ After some time Colonel Clive arrived at the spot with the Company's troops. The Company's troops were refused admission, but the sentries admitted Colonel Clive, who argued before Captain Coote that Admiral Watson had no authority to appoint Coote, who held a subordinate position, as Governor. With the consent of both, the matter was referred to the Admiral, who sent Captain Speke on shore to know by what authority the Colonel took upon him the command of the fort. The Colonel replied that he did so "by the authority of his majesty's commission as lieutenant-colonel and also commander-in-chief of the land forces." Captain Speke carried this reply to the Admiral, who sent him back with the message that if the Colonel "did not abandon the fort, he would fire him out."⁶ The Colonel replied that he could not answer for the consequence and refused to give

¹ *Ibid.*, Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 1-3.

² Orme, Vol. II, pp. 125-126.

³ Watson's Letter to Cleveland, dated the 31st January, 1757; Ives' *Voyage*, p. 101.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 126.

⁵ Ives' *Voyage*, p. 102.

⁶ Ives' *Voyage*, p. 103; Clive's Evidence before the Committee appointed to enquire into the nature, etc., of the East India Company, 26 May, 1772; Hill, Vol. III, p. 309; Watson's letter to Clive, dated 2nd January, 1757; Hill, Vol. II, p. 77.

up the command. But after a while Captain Latham, who was a friend of both the Admiral and the Colonel, went to the latter and settled the dispute in such a way that the Colonel agreed to give up the command if the Admiral came himself on shore and took the command.¹ The Admiral agreed to these terms.

Early in the next morning the Admiral landed ashore, received the keys of the garrison from Colonel Clive, and formally delivered up the fort to Mr. Drake and his Council, who were the Company's representatives in Bengal,² "with the guns, military stores, and effects, publick and private, for the benefit and on behalf of the Proprietors."³ Captain Coote then marched out with the King's troops and quartered in the town.⁴ The fort contained "many guns of different sizes, round and grape shots, shells, grenadoes, a small quantity of powder (and some military stores) but no small arms; in the godowns were several bales of the Company's broad-cloth and about 650 bales of goods for the Europe market; and in the town about 1,400 bales of cotton, a small quantity of toothernague and some China ware."⁵ For the private property found there a notice was issued, so that the respective owners might take their own effects from the Company's Sub-Accomptant (Accountant) by giving a receipt in return, in order "to be responsible for the said effects or their amount, in case it should be contested and awarded to another."⁶ The Council in Calcutta then wrote to the neighbouring Zamindars to pay the rents and revenues of their respective districts, "on pain of having their country destroyed in case of refusal." Some of them sent their *vakils* (representatives) and promised to obey the Company's orders. The Council hoped to meet thereby the charges of further operations intended to be carried on against the Nawab.

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*, Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 82.

³ Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 92.

⁴ Coote's Journal, etc.

⁵ A Journal of the Expedition to Bengal, etc.; Watson's letter to Cleveland, dated 31st January, 1757.

⁶ Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 189.

COST OF FEDERATION

By NALINI RANJAN SARKER

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A PROMINENT feature in the evidence tendered before the Joint Select Committee was the financial implications of the establishment of Federation. Obviously, a proper assessment of the value of the constitutional changes contemplated cannot be made without reference to the cost of initiation, for if the cost is too high it may to that extent materially detract from the advantages of the reforms. The extremely limited financial resources of the country and the incapacity of the people to bear any fresh burdens of taxation at the present moment lend additional strength to this consideration. It becomes necessary, therefore, to ensure that the additional expenditure that may be entailed by the inauguration of the reforms should be kept down to the minimum.

The most authoritative review of this subject is the memorandum entitled "The Financial Implications of (1) Provincial Autonomy and (2) Federation" prepared by Sir Malcolm Hailey on behalf of the Secretary of State for India and placed before the Joint Select Committee. The memorandum estimates the cost at about Rs. 10½ crores of which roughly about Rs. 6 to 8 crores is ascribed to the provinces. The basis of the calculation of the latter amount may be briefly stated. Three quarters of a crore is assigned to the overhead expenses of setting up the new provincial machinery, comprising the cost of the provincial legislatures and the cost of the electorates. About half a crore is involved by the provincial governments taking over certain expenditure that is now borne by the Central Government. Of the residue, Rs 2 to 3 crores is estimated to result from the proposed separation of Burma, a further amount of Rs. 3 to 4 crores being provided for the removal of provincial deficits and for the starting of the provinces on a self-supporting basis. Against this estimated cost of Rs. 6 to 8 crores in connection with the reforms in the Provinces, an amount of Rs. 2½ crores is provided for expenditure at the Federal Centre, of which about $\frac{3}{4}$ crores is attributed to the fresh expenditure on the legislature and Rs. 1½ crores is estimated as the temporary budgetary loss on the establishment of the Reserve Bank, owing to the proposed diversion of currency profits to the

building up of the reserves of the Bank. This is the kernel of Sir Malcolm Hailey's memorandum.

The estimate of Rs. 10½ crores thus reached undeniably reveals a formidable state of affairs, which means that the Indian tax-payers will have to pay far too dearly for any advantages accruing to them as a result of the constitutional changes. In a statement on Sir Malcolm Hailey's memorandum, Sir Samuel Hoare has sought to extenuate the implications by pointing out that comparatively only a small sum, *i.e.*, about three quarters of a crore for the Provinces and about the same amount for the Government at the centre, would be required to meet actual fresh expenditure, while the residue was attributable mainly to two factors which were inevitable even if there were no constitutional reforms, *viz.*, the situation arising out of the necessity of relieving Burma of the two or three crores which she now contributes to the Indian Central Government and the necessity of meeting the permanent deficits of provinces like Bengal and Assam, requiring another two crores of rupees.

The Secretary of State, however, looked ahead with an expectation of a better turn in the conditions of trade and a rise in prices effecting a consequential improvement in the financial position of the Federal and Provincial Governments, and he has also expressed a hope (and he was very careful in not putting it higher than that) that as a result of the proceedings of the Capitation Tribunal, a "contribution of some kind towards the defence expenditure of India" might be obtained from Great Britain, thereby relieving the financial position of India to some extent. He had however to admit that these factors were more or less uncertain and he did not altogether overlook the contingency of his expectation not being realised and he actually suggested the need for an expert enquiry into the entire financial position in such circumstances with a view to making a fresh adjustment.

It is significant to point out in this connexion that he made it clear in his statement that "if the state of the world does not get better, if we still go on with commodity prices either at their present level or actually falling, not only does it make any change almost impossible, but it makes the existing system of Indian finances almost equally impossible." At any rate, "so far as we can see, for quite a number of years to come, there is no orange to divide up in India between the Centre and the Provinces." That is the position, in a nutshell, of the Government of India, and the implications are that whether we are going to have Provincial Autonomy or Federation at some near future, all scope has to be barred to any kind of development work. The

Indian public can hardly acquiesce in this state of affairs and while they have necessarily to accept the limitation imposed by the conditions of world trade, they are by no means satisfied that there is no way out of this *impasse*. Sir Samuel Hoare mentioned in a very casual way in his statement that he believed there was still opportunity for economies to be carried out in certain fields of administration in India, *particularly provincial administration*, but both he in his oral evidence before the Joint Select Committee and Sir Malcolm Hailey in his memorandum seem to rule out the feasibility of any economy in the Defence expenditure of the Government of India forming about 60% of the total Central Budget.

Indian opinion is unanimous that the expenditure on defence should admit of considerable reduction. It appears from a statement submitted by the Secretary of State in reply to a question put by Sir H. S. Gour that though the expenditure on this score has been reduced from Rs. 68 crores in 1921-22 to Rs. 46·20 crores in the estimates for the current year, it is still much higher than the figure of Rs. 29 crores in 1913-14. Much was made by Sir Malcolm Hailey in his memorandum of the fact that "the present budget figure is regarded by the military authorities as barely satisfying the normal requirements of the army at its present strength, for it has involved the depletion of stocks of supplies and the postponement of building and other programmes." But Sir Samuel Hoare had to admit in answer to a question by Lord Hardinge that "this reduction was not due to a failure to replenish reserves of guns, shells, rifles, ammunition, etc." "These reserves," he added, "have not been depleted during the past or previous years." This admission is, in my opinion, quite significant, showing, as it does, the utter hollowness of the cry of inefficiency of the army due to reduction in expenditure. In the next place, the progressive Indianisation of the army must inevitably reduce the amounts that are required for Defence, while, in fairness to India, a more equitable adjustment of India's defence expenditure between this country and Britain must be made. It is almost unanimously admitted that the Indian army also serves an important imperial purpose. If it had not been for the existence of the Indian Army and the fact that it is available for imperial purposes, Britain would have to spend much more than she does on her defence forces, in order to maintain a stronger standing army and to station more units in the Near and Middle East. It is only just, therefore, that a part of India's army expenditure should really be debited to Britain's account; and if India can secure justice in this respect the financial

burden of federation need not terrify the Indian tax-payers. Sir Samuel, as I have already said, was very guarded in committing himself to any definite statement in regard to the award of the Capitation Tribunal; we are told that the Report of the Tribunal is at present under the consideration of His Majesty's Government, and all that we can hope for is when their decision will be announced next autumn, India will not be disappointed in her claims for being amply compensated by Great Britain for the expenditure on Imperial Defence.

It is also amazing that the Secretary of State while showing a great concern for keeping the cost of the Federation within reasonable limits should have nowhere questioned the justification of the present level of emoluments and salaries. Unquestionably a Federal System of Government is more expensive than the present, but I must question the basis on which this cost has been calculated. The official estimates assume that the existing level of salaries and emoluments will be continued. But, I ask, whether it is necessary in order to maintain efficiency or even to attract the right type of men into the Federal Services that these salaries and emoluments should be retained at their existing high level? We are convinced that the present scale of salaries is extravagant and far too burdensome for our country. At any rate, there can be no question that first class Indians can now be obtained in India for the All-India Services on a salary substantially less than what is the present cadre. The scale of salaries of the superior services was fixed when it was understood they would be manned by recruits from England. When a policy of Indianisation is laid down, therefore, the whole situation becomes altered and calls for reconsideration. In this connection it is interesting to note the policy and experience of one of the greatest Indian-owned industrial corporations in the country. By following a policy of Indianisation, this Corporation pays to an Indian officer only two-thirds of the salary allowed a foreign officer he displaces. The policy has worked long and successfully. The salaries paid at present admit of considerable scaling down without injury to efficiency in the least. Moreover, when a new scale of salaries is fixed for new recruits, a fresh body of servants of the state will arise whose ideas and sense of values will be entirely different.

There is yet another important direction in which important economies are possible. The Federal Government of India will be one of the largest purchasers of material in the world and their total purchases will constitute the most important item of expenditure. It is

wellknown that in the past the policy of purchasing in the cheapest market in the world consistent with quality has not been seriously followed. If that were done, and our specifications so drafted as to give an opportunity to every country to quote, I am sure at least a 10% saving would be effected. We may also assume that the reckless extravagance that has characterised the execution of some of our greatest projects will disappear under a thoroughly Indianised administration, fully responsible to a representative legislature.

The importance of these economies lies not only in easing the difficulty of meeting the cost of Federation but also in the fact, which is even more important, that such economies would make an increasing amount available for the nation-building and social services. Under a true Swaraj Government the economic development of the country will receive particular, genuine and sympathetic consideration. I anticipate a great increase in the material well-being of the country and consequently a growing ability to meet larger expenditure. If only the form of Government is changed into a more costly one, without the real control of affairs passing into the hands of Indians but remaining as it is to-day in the hands of a more or less irresponsible alien bureaucracy, these expectations are, I admit, impossible of realisation.

In this connection, I should also utter a word of warning. Sir Samuel Hoare laid special stress on economy in the Provincial Expenditure. We are all conscious of the extravagance incurred in running the primary departments of the Provincial Government and the step-motherly attitude shown by the Provincial Governments towards what are called "nation-building departments," the declaration by the Secretary of State may therefore raise a suspicion in the minds of many that the axe will again fall on the latter in order to set the provinces "on a even keel." We must take our stand strongly against such a move. The Budget of the Reserved Departments of the Provincial Governments admittedly leaves much scope for economy, so that large sums may be spared for the nation-building departments. At any rate, that has got to be ensured if, as Sir Samuel says, "there is no sum at the moment to be divided up amongst the Provinces other than, say, a part of the jute tax or some such payment of that kind for dealing with the very exceptional position of Bengal." Speaking of Bengal, I may say that she could legitimately claim the whole of the proceeds of the jute tax. Had this legitimate demand been conceded, she would perhaps have had no deficits to-day, for half the proceeds of the jute tax is likely to be just sufficient to wipe out

the present deficit. Moreover, so long as the present allocation of funds between the Reserved and the Transferred Departments is retained there is not much of a hope for the economic development of the Province. I believe that is the case with all the other provinces as well, and hence the urgent necessity for drastic reduction in the expenditure on account of the primary functions of the Government.

"Let me assure you with all the emphasis and earnestness I can command that plans for University development, whether judged by word already accomplished or activities yet to be undertaken, have been neither casual nor accidental. They have their solid basis on the rock of a definite conception of the true function of the University in the life of the Nation. It is the duty of the University to gather from the persistent past, where there are no dead, and to embody within its wall the learning of the world in living exponents of Scholarship, who shall maintain in Letters, Science and Art the standards of truth and beauty and the canons of criticism and taste. It is equally incumbent upon the University, for the living present and its persistence in the future, to enlarge the boundaries of human learning and to give powerful aid to the advancement of knowledge by the development of creative capacity in those disciplines through which men seek for truth and strive after duty. It is further incumbent on the University to convey to the community in popular, quite as much as in permanent form, the products of the highest thought on current problems of Science and Society, of Government and public order, of knowledge and conduct. The University can achieve this object and contribute to the welfare of the people in freedom, health and wealth, if it sends forth streams of liberally educated men and women to be leaders of public opinion and to be practitioners in all the brain-working professions of our time, for law, medicine, engineering, teaching and commerce, to architecture, agriculture, banking, journalism and public administration. A University so designed for the service of the Nation in all possible phases of its development, cannot be restricted to a narrow or chosen teaching, much less starved altogether in its activities. It cannot be treated either as a great scholastic sanctuary or as a glorified technical institute."

—Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in his Convocation Speech, 1922

THE STUDY OF INDIAN ART

By ST. KRAMRISCH,

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MORE and more relics of Indian art become known and an increasing number of theories about them follows. A theory literally is a manner of looking at things and this would specially apply to works of art. They must be seen or else they cannot be understood. There is no other approach but through the eye and seeing means here something more than taking notice. It is a direct and absolute communion through the eye and the number of those able to partake in it is equally determined as the number of those who are predestined to understand, *i.e.*, to hear music. Still, the unmusical person refrains from, and in any case is not expected to experience, music and to register his reaction.

On Indian art, there is however a mute consensus that irrespective of the presence or absence of the faculty of seeing, theories may be elaborated for the sake of justifying one's existence.

By no education will the unmusical person become musical, and by no operation does the eye unseeing in face of art, become seeing. The tongue may be practised. Words and notions are substituted for the "unseen," reading is a widespread habit, writing almost as bad, and theories are launched, believed in, disputed and give rise to others.

The various existing methods of approaching Indian art fall into two main groups. In one of them the eye is not put to any further use, no faculties are released, none even are expected differing from those of the eye that sees a leaf and makes you say green, a pond, twenty yards across, a girl, ugly. Codification of sense impressions, valuations that can be measured by the yard, others unfathomable in their limitations of which the opining individual is stacked, belong to the one group. Besides the scholar or expert is more or less well versed in Indian history or philosophy or various other branches of "learning." Sidelights are thrown while facts are gleaned. They are of importance, they may be indispensable even to one whose eye can see.

The second group allow their seeing eyes to dwell on Indian art and their conclusions vary according to how the record of their eye is received by their personality, its power of identification with Indian art and its faculty of rendering this relation by way of their 'systems.'

The first group is by far the larger. One of its branches is naive and righteous in method and claim. Its foundation lies where description takes for granted whatever can be given a name and where the rationale of a school training is indispensable.

This descriptive method,—image of Maya Devi (height), made of black *Kasti pathar*, in this posture under that tree, with six minor figures around it of which each is to be recognised according to insignia, numbers of heads, built of body, etc., etc., all have their names, this implies a meaning, mythology, lotus pedestal variety B, two donors on either side—finally puts "mediaeval" as date and proceeds to the next image. Without much ado and before having gone as far as that the dynastic history of the place as far as inscriptions, etc., will have revealed will be dwelt upon as a befitting introduction. Facts are communicated, the most important is the reproduction from an original photograph.

Let those who dare and can, spin the cobwebs of imagination round this clear piece of news!

A bolder access than the descriptive one is climbed by the historical method. Missing links are still welcomed when participation is lacking on the side of the scholars, with art. Step by step, gap by gap is filled in by evolution. What evolves, from where, into what direction, does it evolve at all, where is the measure and where the proof? Needless to ask; biology of yesterday driven from its position lives in the sheltered nooks of the art historian's mind. Pass Brahma day and Brahma night, another and yet another, creation and dissolution, its process towards creation, go on as long as it is certain that the diameter of the bottom of the lotus capital decreases in an inverse proportion to its height, as time goes on.

But the thin thread of the historical method has not as yet been twisted with any firmness, with the help of Indian material. In its stead tape is being applied of Western manufacture. It is used as a flourish, glitter of a safety pin. It tears the texture, never mind. The hand, also, is not too sure as yet as to how to apply it.

If the thin thread threatens to break why not strengthen it by the comparative method. Blue here, blue there, does it not always remain blue. Pull out a hair here, pull out a hair there, put the two

together, there is no end of it, what a mass of hair. It has been torn out, it need not grow again.

Or else excursions need not go as far as that, it is profitable to stay at home and to watch how cultural activities in other spheres determined or took a parallel course with art. What moves either, what pushes, is not the question. Observe the facts recorded and co-ordinate them and the picture is filled in. On what is it painted? No need asking, it looks a picture. What does it show? Many things, one next to the other, why should they be there. That they are, as they are how did it come about? The unseeing eye receives no answer. It has collected so many data, named, and compared them and has drawn its conclusions, the painting is complete and many more of its kind may be drawn.

If the descriptive method, unknowingly full of self-denial prepares the stones for a building, the historical method joins them. If all are laid in one line there is the danger of collapse, nor is the direction all too clear. Leaving aside the applicability of this method to Western art, it is of greater importance to ask—Can Western historical methods be applied to Indian history? Do not the Indian facts demand an order and approaches which fit the facts? Are they to be passed through foreign meshes and measured according to foreign standards. The tepid commonplace of the ultimate sameness of man is an abstraction at its best, but history means life, and its possibilities are uncounted. The Indian possibility carries a measure and destiny of its own. It communicates it to the student who does not tie it into his net of taught conventions. The student who can afford to forget, when he has been trained to behold, will have to take upon himself a task of which possibly he is not yet aware. Nevertheless and even then, the seeing eye will show the way and from no other source can light be shed on it.

Midway between the seeing and the unseeing eye stands what is commonly called art criticism. Fragments of the two first methods are joined by the personal predilections, preconceived 'aesthetic' ideals and a fair command of supposedly technical words. While formerly Indian art used to be judged according to Western classical standards and its value was found to be negative at present the terms coined to denote certain aspects of Western art are transferred to Indian art for the sake of an interpretation of its 'aesthetic values,' and as more and more śilpa śāstras become known, their terminology too, is made use of as if this would not express anything but the views held by craftsmen

and the interested public at an age that saw and expressed things different from ours. The living substratum, the valid tradition no longer being there, these terms and notions are but a cliché, and it is of greater importance to go to the originals for their understanding, and this will impart life to the cliché too.

Most of the writings on Indian art, it is seen, have little to do with it and they brush its fringes, they may circumscribe the situation of the body which is left untouched, by descriptive archaeology, by art history and by aesthetic art criticism. The limits between these three approaches are not always sharply drawn and they intermingle. This arbitrary and fluctuating talking on art and specially on Indian art cannot but evoke mistrust. The outsider will say enough if there is art and people enjoy it and no self-appointed priest is required between the two. Others may think that a strangely misled taste of the public has to be educated and guided towards the discrimination of quality and if the art critic succeeds in this, his existence is justified. If his eyes are open, they may no doubt help others too, to behold with wonder what hitherto had remained hidden from them. This tutorial work may prove useful, it is however not the main aim of the study of Indian art.

What then is its aim? Literature, *i.e.*, the written word had been hitherto the almost exclusive material, by which man and his standard could be approached. For this purpose the intellect had to be trained. But all there is in man does not find utterance in words and to be able to follow the articulations in material more tangible than sound, less elusive and obedient to a logic which is not that of the intellect alone, the eye has to be trained.

Assuming that a person born with the gift of seeing is trained systematically to co-ordinate the data of the visible, to what account may this knowledge be turned? Before sketching the various possibilities a word may be said about the elementary training of the eye and in what it consists. In relations of points, lines, surfaces, volumes, space, light and darkness and colours, there exists a coherence and it is this coherence that matters. Twofold may be the attitude towards this coherence. Beheld from outside the world of this coherence may be interpreted as the result of a specific mode of seeing and of correlating accordingly the visible values. From this point of view the mode of correlation is taken to be the result of certain given conditions, say for instance the sixteenth century sees like

this, the seventeenth like that. While the observations on the work of art are correct, arbitrariness creeps in where outer connections, such as the historical, are taken to be causally connected with the data observed. Rules consequently are seen into an "evolution" from one type of seeing to another. The question is not asked in this system whether these modifications in seeing may not be connected with other factors than the chronological and whether the element of time may not have to give way to others, such as those of the ethnical carrier, or the soil. This formalistic, historico-biological treatment may or may not fit the specific phase of Western art which was its starting point. If, however, such deductions and their corresponding categories are seen into any phase of Indian art their net will not fit any better than that of Western classical notions did at its time. The only gain lies in the novel attempt at seeing, while the interpretation is a process of applied thought and rules. Or else the stress may be laid not on the chronological but mainly on the ethnical element and then art will serve as an indicator of racial predestinations. In either case art is made into a means of demonstrating correspondences, be they biological or if the term may be used 'geo-sanguineus,' in each case the work of art is asked with a purpose and if the desired answer comes forth, its mission is fulfilled.

What is lacking in either method is the participation of the scholar in the work of art. His sociological pre-occupations stand in his way of ridding himself of the entire apparatus which he is expected to be able to master, and to enter art as a vehicle that leads from the seen into the ever unseen state of being and its paradoxical utterance, creation. Once this root is struck, all the ramifications unfold and are beheld in their proper places.

The study of Indian art demands from its interpreter not only that he should be fully alive to the situation into which he is placed in space and time, for how else could he make sure of his own limitations, of his own peculiar mode of seeing?—and that his eye should be seeing, but that while seeing he should contemplate and once out of his contemplation apply the whole critical apparatus, in the way in which he is guided by the experience gained during, and by the result of his contemplation. Once more, and different from the Indian craftsman of old he has to identify himself with the meaning and exact data of a *sadhana*, but this not a written or spoken formula but a visible whole, be it a single work of art, or a phase or aspect of Indian art. Having participated in the urge, in

the compulsion that had brought forth Indian art, and stepping aside into the—as far as can be—neutral sphere of one's knowledge and awareness, it will be permissible to study Indian art, as that living form of the Indian mind, which utters what words cannot communicate in a consistent language of its own.

"I do not agree with those who are of opinion that our post-graduate students should rigidly avoid politics. The political field is the rightful inheritance of the well-educated man. To tell graduates that they are to refrain from all political controversy is in my opinion to create the inevitable desire for forbidden fruit. It seems to my mind far better in the interests of good government that the young men in our universities should study politics and learn to understand properly the politics of the world and particularly of their country, in a properly organised graduates' political society under the supervision of a responsible professor, so that when they leave their university they will be able to direct and confine their political opinions to their proper channels with beneficial results. It requires years of deep study to enable one to form a judgment of and to arrive at the right conclusion in any political problem. There can be no objection, I think, to graduates attending political meetings within reasonable limits if their object be to educate themselves in politics and to learn its difficult problems, accustoming themselves to discount at its true value the violent language which in most countries accompanies a political movement. Their education should enable them to carefully weigh all the arguments and to arrive at a conclusion dictated by their own judgment and commonsense. They will then be able to adduce intelligent reasons for the opinions they hold and to add weight to the uninstructed political opinions of the public. I would remind those who wish to follow in the footsteps of men like the late Mr. Gokhale that it is necessary to spend years in studying the knotty problems of politics and to learn to sacrifice personal and private interests to the public good before it is possible to become a political leader of the country in the true sense of the word."

—Sir R. N. Mookerjee in his Convocation Address at the
University of Patna, 1919

THE CHINESE MYSTICISM

By DR. PRABODHCHANDRA BAGCHI, M.A., D.LIT. (Paris),

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THE Chinese mind, generally speaking, has no mystic bent. The Confucian positivism is its best expression and the greater bulk of the people have been ardent followers of the Confucian ethics. The abolition of imperialism, round which this Confucianism centered in ancient times, has made no difference in the country and the Confucian attitude of mind has not been disturbed in the least. The Confucian ethics is mainly based on conservative social dogmas. There is no place of divine revelation in it, and it insists on the reciprocal duties of the Emperor and his subjects, father and children, and the fellow-citizens. The respect of the subjects for the Emperor, and the respect of the children for their ancestors, constitute the real foundation of the Government and family. This is why it has been given the place of a national religion in Confucian ethics. In Confucian philosophy there is no place for a Creator God, and in fact Confucius himself refused more than once to be dragged into the speculation on the existence of a Godhead. He explains the mystery of the Universe by the formulation of two principles which he calls *Yin* and *Yang*. *Yin* is the female principle which is passive and *Yang* is the male principle which is active. These two in conjunction create the beings which populate the earth.

Such a simple positivist creed could not have given rise to mysticism, but still China witnessed very early the birth and growth of a very intricate mysticism. This mysticism known as Taoism was, if we are to rely on tradition, first introduced by Lao-tse in the 6th century B.C. Lao-tse was an elder contemporary of Confucius and lived between 570 and 490 B.C. Lao-tse which means the "Old Philosopher" was only the nickname of the teacher and the real name still remains in obscurity. In fact, the personal history of the "Old Philosopher" is not much known. It is admitted by all sources that he was the librarian in the court of the Cheou princes and while engaged in the study of the old documents he discovered his new mystic philosophy. About his last days there are two different stories: according to one, he left his office and went away to the West (West of China) and was never heard of afterwards; according to the other he lived in China till his death. His mystic philosophy is

contained in a canonical work which is called the *Tao-te-king* and attributed to him. About this treatise there are two stories: according to one, Laotse composed it during his journey in the West for his friend Yin-hi who was the guard of the Western pass; according to the other, admitted to be more authentic, he discovered it or at least records containing the exposition of analogous doctrines in the ministerial archives. If we are to rely on the second, we have to admit that the history of Taoism did not commence with Lao-tse, it had its pre-history, or, in other words, Lao-tse had his precursors. But this pre-history is lost in oblivion and for all practical purposes the *Tao-te-king* is our oldest authority on the subject.

About Lao-tse, what the famous Chinese historians Sse-ma-ts'ien of the 2nd century B.C. has said still remains true: "of the Old Teacher some say this, while others say that, and it can be only affirmed that this man deliberately effaced all the traces of his life because he loved obscurity above all." It is not known if he had any following during his life-time but in later times some of the well-known Chinese writers and philosophers professed his mystic doctrines and amongst them were counted Lie-tse, Chuang-tse and Yang-chu who lived in the 4th century B.C., wrote comments on the famous work and contributed to the spread and development of Taoist philosophy. The Taoist literature which consists of about two thousand treatises forms an important section of Chinese literature.

Tao literally means the way and is generally rendered as the principle. This *Tao* is conceived as the unique principle which existed before everything else. It is both transcendent and immanent and has no form, sound or colour. It can not be expressed or defined in language and "if a name has been given to it, it is as a symbol, if not of its unfathomable essence, but of the way in which it manifests itself on earth." Says the *Tao-te-king*:

"The principle which may be enunciated is not that which always existed. The being that may be named is not that which always existed. Before all times, there was an ineffable and unnameable being. When he was still unnameable he conceived the heaven and the earth. He then became nameable and gave birth to all beings. Man's knowledge of the universal principle depends on the state of his mind. The mind which is habitually free from passion knows its mysterious essence. The mind which is habitually full of passion knows only its effects."

The commentators, discussing this passage of the *Tao-te-king*, says: Before times and before all times there was a being who was

self-existent, eternal, infinite, complete and omnipresent. It is impossible to name him or speak of him because human words apply to perceptible beings. But the primordial being was at the beginning, and is even now, essentially imperceptible to the senses. Before the origin of the world there was nothing beyond him. His essence alone existed at the beginning. This essence possessed two immanent properties—the *yin*, concentration and the *yang*, expansion, which were once exteriorised under the two perceptible forms of heaven and earth. This was the commencement of times and since then the principle came to be named. The state of *yin*, i.e., the state of concentration and repose which the principle had before time is his real state. The state of *yang*, i.e., the state of expansion and action, the state of manifestation in perceptible beings, is his condition in time—a condition which is illusory. To these two conditions of the principle correspond in the mental faculty of man repose and activity or in other words void and fullness. When the mind is productive of ideas it is full of images, it is moved by passions and at that time it is able only to recognise the effects of the principle. But when the cogitation of the mind is absolutely stopped it becomes completely void and calm, it is then like a pure and unstained mirror in which is reflected the ineffable and unnameable essence of the principle itself.

This principle is further defined in the *Tao-te-king* as the *true nature*. The superior kind of wisdom consists in knowing this true nature of self. It can be attained by imposing one's own will on himself and in mastering his passions. It can be realised by renouncing all forms of conventional knowledge and worldly activities. In the words of Lao-tse a true sage "acts without acting, is busy without being busy, tastes without tasting, sees with the same eye the great and small, much and little." These words of Lao-tse are capable of only one interpretation. Man ought to realise the universal principle or the true nature of his self. This principle or true nature cannot be defined by words, it can be only felt or realised. This realisation is possible only when the passions have been mastered, the worldly ideas and images have been removed from the mind and a perfect calm has been attained. The mind goes back to its real nature or gets the image of its real self when it is completely clean and void. This cannot be attained through conventional knowledge. When the mind attains this true nature its attitude undergoes a complete change. The man then moves in the world but not as others do. As he has then no desires and passions he acts but he is not moved by any of his actions,

he looks at others but sees in them only one universal principle and does not distinguish between this man or that man.

There is however a practical side of this mysticism. The method by which the transcendental state can be reached is indicated by Lao-tse in the following words:

"Close your mouth and nostrils and you will run to the end of your days without any decadence. To talk too much and indulge in too many anxieties is to waste yourself away and shorten your life. To concentrate the rays of intelligence on the intelligence and not to allow the mental functions to disturb your body is to cover (or protect) the body so that it may endure long."

Chuang-tse states this method more clearly: One should retire to river banks or solitary places and abstain from doing anything just as those who really love nature and like to enjoy leisure, do. To take in breath in a measured way, to evacuate the air contained in the lungs and to replace it by fresh air lengthens one's life. However simple this method might have been at the beginning, it gave rise later on to a very complicated system of breath control.

The pantheistic conception of the universal principle and breath control and concentration prescribed for realising that principle within the self have no doubt close similarity with the Upanishadic conception of Brahma and certain Yogic methods adopted for its realisation within the self. The agreement is so close that one feels tempted to say that Lao-tse derived his ideas from the Indian source and his traditional journey to the West may supply its confirmatory evidence. In fact some Sinologists have expressed such an opinion. But there is a very great difficulty in accepting such a view because the ancient Chinese annals do not officially admit of any relation of China with India before the close of the 1st century A.D.

But whether of Indian extraction or of independent growth there is no doubt that the mystic philosophy of the "Old Philosopher" attain "a rare elevation although its very sublimity renders it sometimes obscure."

IMPRESSIONS OF INDUSTRIAL JAPAN *

By SIR LALUBHAI SAMALDAS, Kt.

I feel very grateful to the Chairman and members of this Institute for inviting me to speak on my impressions on Industrial Japan. Before I give my impressions, I would like to say something about the period of my trip and the industrial concerns which I had an opportunity of visiting. One stayed in that country for thirty-three days and during that interval was able to see the working of six cotton mills, one cement factory, two porcelain works, one spinning machinery manufacturing work, one clock manufacturing work and one cloisonne work. In all cases permission had to be obtained beforehand for the visits and the management had previous information of these visits. I am giving this detailed information as I have often been asked if I was allowed to pay surprised visits. I did not ask for such permission nor would such permission, if granted, have been really useful as my ignorance of the Japanese language would have been a great handicap. Moreover, I did not think mill-owners and other industrialists will in any country allow a visitor to go over their mills at any time he liked. I would like to confess that I am not a technical man and my remarks are to be taken as those of a layman connected with the financial side of some cotton mills and other concerns.

The first and most lasting impression left on the mind of a visitor to Japan is the intense nationalism of the people. Their country right or wrong is the mental, if not the spoken, slogan of the people. The whole nation is united as a whole and an indivisible entity in Japan. One seldom sees the agriculturists fighting with the industrialists. The objective is the same, the progress of the country. There is not a single prefecture looking upon the other with jealous eyes as a rival. They both desire to work for a common cause, namely, the material advance of the country and its people. The second point that impressed me a great deal was the desire of the industrialists to look ahead and to go on introducing improved machinery in the mills so that it may continue to keep high efficiency. The industrialists think more of the future competition and of the preparations to meet it than of immediate dividends and managing agents' remuneration.

Of the cotton mills that I visited one is considered both by the Japanese and by the Indians residing in Japan as the best and biggest cotton mill in Japan. Others were smaller mills and not so clean and imposing as the Kanegafuch Mills, but the labour-welfare work done in all the mills was of an almost equally high standard.

In all these mills the majority of workers consists of girls. There are some men workers also. There are girls' dormitories, bachelors' dormitories for female and male workers. In some mills there are houses for workmen's families. The dormitories are quite clean and have very little furniture. The beds are of mat, are clean and kept in drawers in each room. Under a regulation, they have to be cleaned every morning and sun-dried once a week. The workers, both male and female, work for 8½ hours per day. There are two shifts per day and consequently the

* Synopsis of a speech delivered by Sir Lalubhai Samaldas at the Indian Institute of Economics, Calcutta, on Tuesday, the 22nd August, 1938.

mills' work is done for seventeen hours per day. Under another regulation no woman is allowed to work in factory from 11 P.M. to 5 A.M. As the female workers are in a majority, the mills have as a result of this regulation to be closed for six hours a day. Out of the remaining 18 hours, there is a recess of half an hour per shift and thus the working hours are reduced to seventeen. I have seen the working girls in the mills and also during their recess and during their off-time and have found them cheerful and sprightly. All these girls have the advantage of seven years' compulsory education and few months' training as apprentices. They are naturally more intelligent and more attentive than the workers here. It has been said that the Japanese mill-owner sweats labour. A person working for $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours less than the workmen in India cannot be said to be sweated labour. At least the industrialist here has no right to say so. If we compare the wages of the girls there with those of the workmen here and make allowance for the provision of dormitories and mess feeding at about half the cost, it must be acknowledged that the girls are financially much better off. Physically they are also far superior to our workmen. A Japanese girl attends to about 8 looms as against 2 looms worked till recently by an Indian workman. Although the work is nominally four times, there appeared on the face of the girls no effect of the strain of this extra work. In one mill working with the Toyoda Automatic Looms, a girl is able to work 30 looms and the Manager of the mill told me that practically a girl could manage 60 looms but experience showed that it was physically impossible for a girl to attend to more than 32 looms. A girl attending to even 30 looms means a reduction in labour cost, *i.e.*, nearly $1/15$ the Indian labour cost.

Management by Directors, one being in charge of each Department, is also much more efficient. Absence of the Managing Agency system' gives direct control and interest to individual Directors and leads also to economy. As there is usually a combination of mills working together for the organisation of cotton purchase and cloth sales, they are able to purchase cotton at a cheaper price on the spot and sell their manufactured goods in the most profitable markets.

The Cotton Spinners' Association have an agreement with the Conference Lines for carrying all the cargo from India to Japan at a low rate. As all the mills work through the Association, the latter body is almost in a position to dictate terms. As there are no Japanese Lines in the Conference which has entered into an agreement, there is no likelihood of the Japanese Government giving any subsidy in lieu of rebate to a non-Japanese Company. Similarly, the Japanese Government are not likely to grant subsidies to cotton mills that are able to declare dividends. Bounties and subsidies are given to concerns which are in difficulties and are not able to earn profits. No Government, unless it is entirely ignorant and foolish, would give subsidies to profit-earning concerns.

The same efficiency and economy were noticeable in the cement and the porcelain factories. In the latter as well as the cloisonne factory, I was very much impressed with the artistic work. In these institutions, it is a genuine pleasure to see young girls and others doing delicate painting work on the porcelain ware.

The percentage of agricultural households is 47 out of the total households in Japan. Agriculture is, therefore, a very important industry though not as important as in India. In agricultural industry also, Japan is forging ahead by the use of chemical manures and improved agricultural implements. The agriculturists have been able to raise the amount of rice grown per acre by some 50% in the past few years. Increase in the acreage under cultivation and the produce per acre are jointly ahead of

PROTECTION AND GROWTH OF NATIONAL CAPITAL

By DR. H. L. DEY, M.A., D.Sc.

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and

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I

In the course of his review of *The Indian Tariff Problem* in the August Number of this Journal (pp. 257-58), Dr. J. P. Niyogi, while conceding that protection is extremely bad from the point of view of distribution, does not accept the proposition, which I have set out on p. 33 of the book just referred to, that far from stimulating the growth of national capital, it is calculated rather to reduce the rate of its growth. I have tried to put as generous a construction as possible on the reverse proposition enunciated by the Indian Fiscal Commission (Report, para. 42) and further elaborated and illustrated by Dr. Niyogi. This latter proposition does not amount to much more than that protection *via* higher prices effects an automatic transfer of purchasing power from the consuming classes to the producing-investing classes, who have a margin of saving over expenditure and who invest these savings through shares or debentures or undivided profits, *i.e.*, company reserves, thus increasing the industrial capital of the country. But the nature and significance of the transfer will become clear to us if we continue our search further backwards and forwards both into the antecedent and the subsequent state. Before the transfer took place, the purchasing power in question was in the hands of (i) the rural classes, *i.e.*, landlords, tenure-holders, agriculturists, village artisans, traders, etc.; (ii) the urbanised, middle class people and others; and (iii) the rentier class, which perhaps is a very small class in India. Now, in all these three cases, the higher prices brought about by protection *ipso facto* leave a smaller margin of savings than before, because a part of the former savings now passes *via* higher prices into the hands of the entrepreneur and shareholding classes. That is, the difference between the pre-protection and the post-protection price-levels measures the *decrement of saving* for the first three classes and *increment of income* to the share-holders, labourers and entrepreneurs in the protected industries. But let us follow out the consequences of the transfer step by step. It is only stated, but not analytically proved, *e.g.*, by the Fiscal Commission and Dr. Niyogi, that the transfer will help the growth of national capital. It is difficult to see how the transfer of the savings of classes (ii) and (iii) above to the industrial classes, *i.e.*, entrepreneurs, share-holders and labourers in the protected industries, will lead to an increase in the aggregate national capital. The amount remains the same, only the ownership is different. Some significant change does indeed happen to the purchasing power that is transferred from class (i), *i.e.*, rural, to the industrial classes. The savings that would have otherwise remained

idle in the shape of hoards or jewellery, etc., *i.e.* potential but inactive capital, now become active and effective capital. That is, there is a change in the character of the capital. Even so, it is not clear how this change in the *character* of the capital leads to a change in the *amount* as well. On the contrary, since the rural classes have a comparatively lower and more stationary standard of living than the urban-industrial classes to whom the purchasing power of the former is now transferred, it is fairly obvious that such a transfer will mean a greater aggregate expenditure and therefore, lesser aggregate savings. Now, the larger aggregate savings that would have remained in the hands of the rural classes in the absence of the protection-high-price regime could be cured of their extravagant "shyness" through the spread of education and the popularisation of the modern methods of investing small savings in the post-office savings deposits, cash certificates, and co-operative societies—methods whose success have been amply demonstrated since the last war. This is the right treatment of the disease of hoarding. To attempt to cure it by a virtually compulsory transfer of the savings of the rural classes to the industrial classes is nearly as good as drying up the well itself in order to prevent leakage of water, or burning away the whole crop in order to destroy the weed, or cutting away the stomach itself in order to cure dyspepsia. I agree that the remedies I have suggested will take a comparatively long period to produce their full effects. And so, if I have understood Dr. Niyogi aright, he would theoretically support a protective policy as being beneficial in the short period from the point of view of capital growth through company reserves, etc. But if such a policy does not increase the aggregate savings, as argued above, I can only interpret Dr. Niyogi to mean that he would prefer to have a larger immediate increment to the invested industrial capital even at the cost of a decrement of aggregate savings, although the pursuit of the more direct, educative, method I have suggested would give us larger aggregate savings as well as larger investments in the long run. The short-period policy of protection gives us a small gain in increment of industrial investment but a larger loss through decrease of aggregate savings; Dr. Niyogi also agrees that this small gain obtainable under a protective policy is far outweighed by its injurious effect on distribution. If, then, these are the items on the debit and the credit side of the account, will Dr. Niyogi kindly attempt to strike the net balance again? I am sure he will find good cause for retracting even the small concession he appears to have rather incautiously made to the protectionist thesis.

Dr. Niyogi also contends that "protective tariffs on the necessities of life cause a transference of resources from persons with little or absolutely no margin for saving to persons who enjoy greater facilities for saving. If these sums had been retained by the poor these would have been expended on consumption goods, whereas the sums diverted to the rich are likely to be reinvested." I confess I have been unable to follow the point of this suggestion. If we assume, as we must, that the purchasing power of the poor with little or absolutely no margin for saving is fixed, the rich, i.e., industrial classes, cannot get more under a protective system than under the pre-protective one. They have transferred to them the same sum of money in both cases (assuming that they produce commodities both of elastic as well as inelastic demand). So that there is no chance of their being able to receive and save more in the one case than in the other. But there is certainly, a lesser amount of savings left to the poorer classes in the regime of protection than under that of free trade. For, in the pre-protection stage of lower prices also they would have spent these sums of consumption goods; only they would have got either more

commodities with the same amount of money, or the same commodities with a lesser amount of money, there being a saving in the second case. In the post-protection stage of higher prices, they buy a lesser amount of commodities with the same amount of money as before, or an equal amount of commodities with a greater sum of money, there being negative saving in the second case. Thus, in the pre-protection stage there is a chance of saving or obtaining more commodities; while in the post-protection stage there is negative saving or receipt of a lesser amount of commodities. So that a protective policy produces exactly the reverse of the result which Dr. Niyogi, in company with the Fiscal Commission, envisages for it.

Nor do I think that Dr. Niyogi's third point that "in so far as a portion of the revenue from customs is applied in payment of the interest on national debt internally held the effect on savings is not likely to be prejudicial, for the sum so applied is likely to be re-invested," can stand the test of analysis. The customs duties are like all other taxes in their effect on the tax-givers, only with this difference that they take a larger proportion of the income from the poor than from the rich, whereas most other taxes do just the reverse. Exactly to the extent that the customs go to the payment of interest on public debt internally held, do they diminish the capacity of the consumers of all classes to pay interest on private debts. The customs duties do not reduce the aggregate amount of internal debt, private and public, nor do they increase savings more than what would have been the case in the absence of customs duties. (In considering the incidence of import duties, we must accept the verdict of Marshall, Pigou, and Sir Herbert Samuel that on the whole they should be assumed to fall on the consumers. Also cf. the Report of the Colwyn Committee.)

I tried my best to make my position on these points clear in the *Indian Tariff Problem* (pp. 32-34). But it seems that it is sometimes exceedingly difficult to have a fair hearing for an unorthodox point of view even at the hands of academic experts. And that is the excuse for this further effort to elucidate the points at some length.

H. L. DEY.

II

Dr. H. L. Dey has referred to a few remarks of mine which I had made in the course of a review of his book *The Indian Tariff Problem*. These remarks which appeared in the August number of the Calcutta Review may be briefly stated as follows:—

(1) "In so far as a portion of the revenue from customs is applied in payment of the interest on national debt internally held the effect on savings is not likely to be prejudicial, for the sum so applied is likely to be reinvested."

Dr. Dey argues that this point cannot stand the test of analysis. In support of his contention he appeals among other authorities to the Report of the Colwyn Committee on National Debt and Taxation. I was surprised to see Dr. Dey calling to his aid this Report. For the position which I have taken up is identical with that of the Colwyn Committee. Might I refer to the following passage in paragraph 668 of the Report?

"Of the duties borne by small incomes by far the larger part will be met out of money which would otherwise be expended on consumption

goods of one kind or another; a much smaller part will be so expended by the debt-holders out of their interest receipts. In the case of debt repayment it is probable that nearly the whole of the sums received will be re-invested."

It appears that Dr. Dey has missed the whole point regarding the ultimate effect of the application of custom duties to the payment of interest on national debt. No one would ever contend that such duties reduce the national debt. But what would happen is that in so far as such duties are utilised for paying interest on national debt they effect a transference of resources from the poor to the industrial classes. This transference does bring about an increase of savings more than what would have been the case under any other arrangement, *e.g.*, under an income-tax. Dr. Dey's position is therefore unsound when he says "nor do they (customs duties) increase savings more than would have been the case in the absence of customs duties."

(2) "Protective tariffs on the necessities of life cause a transference of resources from persons with little or absolutely no margin for saving to persons who enjoy greater facilities for saving."

Dr. Dey's comment on this proposition is that the transference thus brought about means only a change in the character of the capital and not in the amount. "It is not clear" he says, "how a change in the character of the capital leads to a change in the amount as well." My contention is that in the absence of protection the resources left in the hands of the rural classes would have been spent on consumption goods. To the extent of this expenditure the aggregate saving would be less. I do not agree with Dr. Dey when he says that, as the rural classes have a comparatively stationary standard of living, they are likely to save much more under free trade than what the industrial classes would do under protection. (The well-known fact that the expenditure of the rural classes on conventional necessities has gone up does not bear out Dr. Dey's thesis that their standard of living has remained stationary.) Nor can it be maintained that the increased income of the urbanised classes would be thoughtlessly spent on luxuries without making any provision for the future. As a matter of fact the increased volume of insurance in recent years does indicate a growing realisation of the future which is helpful to capital formation.

It is thus evident that what takes place under protection is not, as Dr. Dey maintains, a mere change in the character of capital. The resources left in the hands of the rural classes under free trade and spent by them on consumption goods are certainly not capital. The resources become capital in certain circumstances when transferred *via* protection and high prices to the industrial classes. The volume of savings in any country depends as much on the magnitude of the national dividend as on its distribution. Protection, although it diminishes the magnitude of the dividend, might so alter its distribution as to facilitate a larger amount of saving by certain sections. It is conceivable that even if protection reduces the aggregate national dividend, it might cause a greater proportion of that reduced dividend to be devoted to productive purposes. Unless the national dividend shows a considerable shrinkage under protection, it is not likely that the aggregate saving will diminish.

Further Dr. Dey contradicts himself when he says that "the industrial classes cannot get more under a protective system than under a pre-protective one." For does he not himself make the admission in the first paragraph of his note that protective duties cause a transference of resources from the rural to the industrial classes? I refer to the following passage: "the urbanised industrial classes to whom the purchasing power of the former (rural classes) is now transferred, it is fairly

obvious that such a transfer will mean a greater aggregate expenditure"... If the industrial classes cannot get more under protection, as Dr. Dey maintains, it is inconceivable how they can incur a greater aggregate expenditure.

(3) "In a modern society saving has to a great extent become impersonal and automatic in its nature. For the world has come to rely increasingly on corporate savings and the savings of public authorities for its supply of capital.....The stimulus given to company-promoting might result in a growth of national savings."

As no comment is made on this proposition, I refrain from making any observations.

J. P. NIYOGI.

PRODUCTION OF SOLAR EVAPORATION SALT OR KURKUTCH IN BENGAL

By BINAYBHUSHAN DASGUPTA
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In Chapter II, para. 7, of the *Report on the Possibilities of Salt Production in Bengal, 1932*, Mr. Pitt says, "Scrutiny of the history of salt manufacture in Bengal and Orissa reveals the fact that on the coast of Bengal, salt has never been manufactured by the process of solar evaporation." Again in para. 23 of the same chapter, he writes, "In spite of a close scrutiny of such old records as are now available, it is impossible to discover that any manufacture on the coast of Bengal or Balasore were carried out purely by solar evaporation."

The above two statements of Mr. Pitt, we are afraid, are not correct. The old records, that still exist on the subject, disclose clearly that an experiment of manufacturing *kurkutch* or solar evaporation salt was undertaken on the coast of Chittagong and was carried on for the years 1827-28 to 1831-32 (inclusive).

In those days of the Government salt monopoly, it was part of the Government policy to retail salt in the manufacturing localities at a cheap rate in order to prevent illicit production. A small quantity of salt was thus retailed in every agency. In Chittagong, however, instead of retailing the dearer boiled Agency salt, Government indented cheaper *kurkutch* salt from Madras for retailing it at a cheaper rate in the locality. The supply was obtained through a contractor who bore all risks. Writing in 1855, Mr. Plowden says that "the present contract price is Rs. 46 per 100 maunds, which yielded to the contractor a profit of Rs. 31 per 100 maunds."

Now, for five years from 1827-28 to 1831-32, Government carried on an experiment of manufacturing the *kurkutch* salt in Chittagong, instead of indenting it from Madras. The manufacture was carried on, in the island of Kutubdia, in Aurung Barchur, and on the main and on the opposite side of the Kutubdia channel; in Aurung Jooldeah. The Madras process of manufacture was followed and Madras Mulunghees were procured for the purpose. In the first year the manufacture was carried on by hired labourers but in subsequent years it was done by contract with the Mulunghees. The annexed statement shows the results of the experiment:

"It was calculated that the cost to the contractor of producing 100 maunds of salt did not exceed Rs. 20 or at the most Rs. 25 being at the rate of from 3 to 4 annas per maund, as follows:

A set of salt pans, capable of yielding 800 maunds in the season, required the attendance of five labourers whose wages for the season of six months at Rs. 3 per mensem, amounted to Rs. 90 or Rs. 30 per 100 maunds, but as in effect the constant attendance of the salt-workers was not requisite for more than two out of six months the actual cost of salt was estimated, as above stated, not to exceed Rs. 20 or 25 per 100 maunds."

The quality of the salt was variable and even that which was approved of as good quality when first made, seemed to deteriorate from being kept

any time in store. The good salt was considered to be superior to the salt usually imported from the Madras coast and was preferred by the people to that salt.

The Result of the Experiment.

We have it on the authority of Mr. Plowden that "It is supposed that the salt by solar evaporation does not admit of being manufactured in the Chittagong district to any great extent ; because it could only be made in the cold season, or from the latter half of December to early in March during which period the heat is insufficient to create such an evaporation as would ensure a very large production of salt. In March the low lands are commonly inundated and storms accompanied by rain commence, as shown by past accounts of the Agency. In one of the years of the experiment (1829-30) as appears from the annexed statements, the manufacture failed altogether owing to the unfavourable weather generally from February to April. Whenever the works were in a state of producing salt, a heavy fall of rain, with a stormy wind continuing for days impeded the manufacture and injured the works and saline mixtures.

In 1843 when one Mr. Velly again applied for permission to make *kurkutch* at Chittagong on the same terms as the Mulunghees make *punga* salt there, Government "thought proper to maintain the prohibition of 1833 against the local manufacture of salt by solar evaporation."

Thus the old records show the following facts very clearly :

1. *Kurkutch* or solar evaporation salt was produced on the coast of Chittagong on a small scale during the years 1827-28 to 1831-32.
2. The quality of the salt thus produced was good.
3. A large-scale production of *kurkutch* was not thought feasible under the climatic condition of Chittagong.
4. But the prospects of success of a small-scale production of *kurkutch* were quite good and the results attracted an English adventurer to undertake such a production though he was not allowed to do it under the then Government policy.

(For a tabular statement see next page.)

Year of manufac- ture.	Quantity of salt made.	Price paid for salt per maund.	Cost of the total quantity of salt made.	Rate of transport charge per 100 mds.	Total cost of transport to the store golas.	Total cost of salt including transport and storage charges.	Rate of cost per 100 maunds.	REMARKS.
1827-28	1,732 0 0 692 0 0	7 as.	1,080 0 7 303 8 7		33 10 1 14 0 0	1,113 10 8 317 8 7	64 6 0 45 12 0	The figures in the first line shows their results of the manufacture by hired labour, those in the second line the result by contract.
Total	2,424 0 0		1,383 9 2		47 10 1	1,431 3 3		
1828-29	28,623 20 0	7 as.	12,522 11 6	1 12 0	500 14 6	13,023 11 0	45 8 0	
1829-30	839 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	
1830-31	18,681 11 2	5 as.	5,837 14 6	1 11 0	315 3 10	6,153 2 4	33 0 0	
1831-32	70,550 10 0	5 as.	22,046 15 3	1 9 0	1,102 5 6	23,149 4 9	33 0 0	

The statement is taken from App. C, No. 2 of the Report of Mr. Plowden, the Salt Commissioner, 1856.

Miscellany

[*Public Works in Fascist Italy* (B. K. SARKER)—*The Regime of Technocracy* (B. K. SARKER)—*Special Labour Currency in the Nazi Campaign against Unemployment* (B. K. SARKER)—*Years of Life wrested from Tuberculosis* (B. K. SARKER)—*Savings Insurance* (B. K. SARKER)—*The Organisation of Saving in Japan* (B. K. SARKER)—*The Corporative State* (B. K. SARKER).]

PUBLIC WORKS IN FASCIST ITALY

The report on the balance-sheet for Public Works, affords further proof of the profound, far-reaching and beneficent changes brought about in the Fascist attitude towards public works. The following figures are of considerable interest:—

During the decennium ending 28 October, 1932, the Ministry of Public Works has spent sums amounting to over 15 milliard 500 million liras, while the independent Road Building Company has spent a further 1 milliard 800 million liras.

In addition to the above-mentioned payments, those made by the Under-Secretary for Integral Land Reclamation (*Bonifica Integrale*) after the separation of this service from the Ministry of Public Works, amount to over 657 million liras. The total expenditure on public works thus amounts to 17,513,944.679 liras.

The expenditure of the three services mentioned above as on 31 January, 1933, amounted to over 18 milliard liras according to the latest information.

The consequences of such a policy must be deeply felt throughout the nation as regards unemployment and also in relation to increased production and to technical, economic and social progress.—*Rassegna Economica* (Naples).

THE REGIME OF TECHNOCRACY

Technocracy, or the regime of technology, consists essentially in a criticism of the prevailing economic system whose bankruptcy it declares to be imminent and which it would replace by a new system. The fundamental features of the technocratic regime are envisaged to be, first, the banishment of money and property, and, secondly, the rigorous control of production and sources of energy.

Since the beginning of the century the output of labour per head has been quintupled on account of machinery. It is mechanism that has created in a great measure the enormous unemployment of to-day to be measured by tens of millions throughout the world. For every country according to its standard of living it is possible to fix upon the number of hours per week that an able-bodied man or woman should work with the machines available. For the United States the 4-hour day and the 4-day week have been considered to be the optimum.

The services are to be paid, in the technocratic system, not in money but in consumption-goods possessing validity for a distinct period. The standard of value is to be neither gold nor silver but a certain quantity of energy because its cost of production is more constant than that of metals. The "electric dollar" is likely to replace the gold dollar under those circumstances.

Technocracy as proposed by the American engineer Howard Scott is in spirit communistic. It is as unrealizable in practice as were the anti-machine system of Sismondi and the followers of St. Simon or the abolition of profit by Fourier and of interest by Proudhon. But one cannot deny that the technocrats have called attention to the fact that the economic and social problems of mankind can hardly be solved by *laissez faire*—*Journal du Commerce* (Paris).

SPECIAL LABOUR-CURRENCY IN THE NAZI CAMPAIGN AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT

The *Arbeitsbeschaffung* (creation of employment) measures of the *Reich* would involve enormous expenditure. The sum of RM. 1,000 000,000 has been earmarked by the Central Government for distribution along diverse lines. The money, however, is not to be considered as something paid in cash or currency notes. The *Reich* is issuing *Arbeitswechsel*, i.e., "labour notes" up to the amount named above and has declared itself bound to cash them when presented. The labour-notes run for one, two, three, four and five years. The period of maturity is mentioned on each note. The *Reich* knows definitely the due dates in each instance as well as the amounts to be paid each year. It is believed that the outgo of the Finance Department is likely to be less than the income because the expenses on account of unemployment insurance will tend to be reduced in large proportions.

The labour-notes are to enjoy all the privileges of commercial bills. They can be used for ordinary marketing purposes. Taxes can be paid with these notes, which can likewise be used while making voluntary contribution in order to promote national work. Creditors are to accept labour-notes as mortgage. Finally the Reichsbank is authorized to discount them as it does all other bills of exchange.

The bank law of Germany, subject as it is to the provisions of the Dawes and the Young Plan, forbids the Reichsbank to discount any bills running for more than three months. Besides the Reichsbank is not authorised to discount the Treasury Bills issued by the Government beyond RM. 400,000,000. In order to get over these technical difficulties the Hitler regime has hit upon measures such as serve to carry the plan of RM. 1,000,000,000 labour-notes to fruition.

The Imperial Minister of Finance is authorised to issue labour-notes valued at one milliard Reichsmarks. These notes are to be made over to the German Society for Public Works which is a Government company. The persons or companies who need Government help have to apply to the Minister of Labour who furnishes them with certificates in case he approves of their plan of business. On the strength of a certificate they can get the labour-note for the value declared. The labour-note is then presented to the Society for public works for acceptance. Once it is "accepted" by the Society it can be used by the companies as medium of payment for their purchases. The labour-note then passes from bank to bank for discount and at this stage the Reichsbank is prepared to rediscount it. The labour-notes are to run for a maximum period of three months. But at the expiry of the third month each can be replaced by a new note or rather prolonged up to the period when the *Reich* according to the original note is bound to cash it.—*Verein Deutscher Ingenieure Nachrichten* (Berlin).

YEARS OF LIFE WRESTED FROM TUBERCULOSIS

Almost an entire year has been added to the general average duration of life by the successful battle against tuberculosis within the last decade, that is from 1920 to 1930; about another year's gain stands to the credit of the previous decade. That so much has been accomplished in increased life expectation through attack on a single disease is very remarkable.

According to the mortality statistics of the recent census year, 1930, the curtailment of the average length of life due to tuberculosis was just over one year for white persons of either sex. In 1920 it was a little short of two years. Still another decade further back in time it was about three years.

The loss of potential years of life through a given cause depends not only on the degree of the mortality from that cause, but also on the age-period at which its effect is concentrated. In this respect tuberculosis is in a particularly unfavourable position, and it is interesting, in studying the situation regarding this disease, to consider it in contrast with organic heart disease. Deaths from tuberculosis occur very largely among young persons or persons at the prime of life. As the result of this, although the death-rate from tuberculosis has fortunately decreased in late years so far as to relegate this cause to the seventh rank among the principal causes of death, yet the number of years of life lost, on the average, is still a relatively important item.

Among white persons in the United States in 1930, the average length of life (expectation of life at birth) is shortened by 1.1 years through tuberculosis (all forms). Up to about the twentieth year of life the curtailment of the average remaining after-lifetime by tuberculosis remains nearly the same, irrespective of age, namely, about one year, according to the mortality as of 1930. After this age it falls rapidly. Among white males, for example, the loss of remaining after-lifetime at the age 42 is about one-half year, at age 62 only, *i.e.*, .15 of a year, or less than two months.

The situation is strikingly different in the case of heart disease. There the loss of years of life is nearly the same for all ages up to 52, and only slightly less even at age 62, because heart disease claims most of its victims among persons in or past mid-life. *Statistical Bulletin* of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. (New York).

SAVINGS-INSURANCE

A system of savings-insurance has been introduced in Italy and is being operated by some banking institutes with the collaboration of the National Insurance Institute.

The system combines saving with life assurance in one of the various forms in use and grants the contracting party the widest facility, during the course of the contract, to decide as to whether such contract shall definitely assume the character and have the effect of an ordinary savings account or life assurance. The contracting party may also make deposits of such sums and at such times as suit him.

Medical examination is dispensed with for contracts with a maximum deposit of 20,000 lire. For bigger amounts examination is necessary.

The contracting party may obtain part or total repayment on demand of sums deposited together with accrued interest compounded annually, which from a minimum of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. may rise to over $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The insurance is then reduced in proportion. The system also provides for the granting of loans up to the amount of deposits made. In this case if the loan is not repaid within the time stipulated, it automatically becomes a withdrawal.

Interest is not allowed on those deposits of which the depositor does not demand repayment; or rather, such interest constitutes the price of the insurance and, when added to the deposits from which it is derived, its total cost.

The savings-insurance contract is therefore an alternative contract: when sums are repaid, the contract is one of ordinary savings to the extent of repayment and one of insurance for the remainder, if any.

There are two clearly distinct functions in the operating of savings-insurance: that of the banking institute which receives the deposits, manages them and arranges for their part or total repayment, and that of the insuring institute which attends to the formation of the capital insured. The banker pays interest to the insurer at the rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the sums deposited by way of premium and retains the excess, if any, arising from the investment yield of such deposits. The nominal amount of the deposits is added to that of the insurance at the expiration of the contract of insurance.—Riccio in *Inconsulente Bancario* (Rome).

THE ORGANIZATION OF SAYING IN JAPAN

The biggest savings institution in Japan is the Post Office Savings Bank, which at the end of 1932, had deposits amounting to 2 milliard 750 million yen. The co-operative societies (which have a central bank) and the insurance companies also collect savings deposits. As to the Savings Banks which number 86, they are private institutions conducted according to the principles of commercial undertakings. They must have the structure of a juristic person and possess an initial capital of at least 500,000 yen. At the end of 1930, the capital of these Savings Banks amounted to 41,650,000 yen and the reserves to 33,780,000. Their activities are strictly controlled by Law. Their chief operations comprise the purchase of Government securities and the granting of personal, mortgage and unsecured loans. The profits of these institutions are considerable, net gains rarely falling below 10 per cent. In 1930 they paid a dividend of 10·8 per cent. The rate of interest of deposits in 1931 fluctuated between 4·2 and 4·7 per cent.—*Deutsche Sparkassen-Zeitung* (Berlin).

THE CORPORATIVE STATE

Italy has given an example of national co-ordination by dealing with the co-ordination of all branches of production and creating the essential instruments for this purpose. Those who imagine that Italian trade union organization, legally recognized and incorporated in the State, is intended only to solve the problem of the relations between labour and capital, have only a limited and erroneous conception. When the economic struggle was wearying all peoples, it was essential for a young nation to avoid any dispersion of its energy. Strikes and lock-outs represent serious waste and also a danger. It was necessary to prevent them and, therefore, to provide means for the fair settlement of the inevitable differences of opinion between categories and classes. That was not sufficient. It was necessary to re-organize the State with the participation of representatives of labour and industry.

“We have done that through our trade-union and co-operative systems, which have already been working for six years and which, by the continuous adjustment of the varying requirements of social and economic life, have produced increasingly important results. Our organization is being developed and improved, not only in the social sphere but also in the economic sphere where there is gradually being realized a collaboration which is at the basis of our whole regime.

"In our system the State does not intervene directly; no scheme of production is drawn up by Government departments, or imposed by the State. The State is not responsible for production as it would be if it established and administered enterprises. What the State does is to set up bodies responsible for the regulation of production. They are State bodies but they are composed of representatives of the categories concerned, and consequently, when the need is felt, there is self-government in production; and if we recognize the necessity of co-ordinating the various branches of production and of harmonizing and regulating them, we should also admit the desirability and utility of this being done by bodies consisting of representatives of the categories concerned. While the system of cartels, trusts, etc., places in the hands of a few powerful individuals the direction of the economic life of a nation, our system associates employers and workers in that task on an equal footing. Equality of rights in labour is not merely an affirmation of moral, social and political value, but under the Fascist Regime it is a constant practice. The corporative system is being realized and developed according to the requirement and according to the capacity of organization attained by each category. At the present moment new problems are arising, and others will arise in the future, including that of creating and developing *Consortia* to act as intermediaries between individuals and the corporation, and therefore to enforce the orders and rules of the corporation. All this cannot be improvised, because improvisation is foreign to our methods, and also because in economic matters it is necessary to proceed by stages when making improvements.

"I believe that I have sufficiently established my claim that under the Fascist Regime Italy has been the first country to work out a corporative system that has placed labour and capital on a footing of equality, has established social peace, and may become an efficient instrument for the restoration of that economic equilibrium which the world so anxiously awaits."—Biagi at the International Labour Conference (Geneva).

Reviews and Notices of Books

[Books in the principal European and Indian classical languages and vernaculars are reviewed in *The Calcutta Review*. But the Board of Editors do not guarantee reviews of all books received. Newspapers, periodicals, School and College text-books, pamphlets, off-prints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not reviewed. No criticism of book-reviews and notices are published, nor receipt of books received for review acknowledged or enquiries relating thereto answered.]

[*The East India Company*, by J. D. S. Paul (PRIYARANJAN SEN)—*Mediaeval India*, by A. Yusuf Ali (PRIYARANJAN SEN)—*Dream Cargoes*, by David W. Code (PRIYARANJAN SEN)—*A Junior Chemistry*, by E. J. Holmyard (P. RAY)—*A Text-book of Chemistry*, by H. A. Wootton (P. RAY)—*Elementary Organic Chemistry*, by B. C. L. Kemp (P. RAY)—*A School Course of Chemistry*, by J. R. Partington (P. RAY)—*Byathar Parag* by Krishnadhan De (MOHINIMOHAN BHATTACHARYA)—*Nirukta* Ed. by Lakshman Sarupa (KOKILESWAR SASTRI)—*Mana-meyodaya* by Narayana Bhatta—(KOKILESWAR SASTRI).]

The East India Company by J. D. S. Paul, M.A. (Yale), Ph.D. (London). Luzac & Co., London. 3 shillings.

The history of the East India Co., is full of interest for the Indian reader ; the Company still lives in the mind of the villagers who dwell far from the town and who, in an emergency, call upon the Company to redress their grievances and grant them relief. In this volume Dr. Paul discusses its early trading organization and commerce, from the start to Sir Thomas Roe's embassy, a period of 22 years, 1609-1621. The provisions of the Queen's Charter are carefully noted as well as the status of the Factor ; the Directorate were very strict in their choice of the agents, and the first venture was made for Bantam. The Dutch competition was a serious matter for consideration, specially with regard to the trade in jewellery. It is gratifying to note that the cloth of Bengal, specially "Cassia," was in demand at the Spice Islands, and at Bantam. There was a large element of piracy mixed up in the trade on high waters in those days.

The second half of the period treated, the years 1612-1621, witnessed greater commercial activity on behalf of the Company which now tried to get a foothold within the Moghul Empire. Surat was the chosen site, and Roe managed to secure bare privileges by 1619 ; though his attempts at securing more were foiled for the time being, British trade followed the route of the Moghul Court, and thus Kashmir, Lahore, Ajmere, Agra, Delhi, all these places were visited by the adventurous traders. The English imports and the Indian exports are severally named, and they provide interesting reading. The British encountered the serious rivalry of the Portuguese and profited by the wise policy of the Dutch.

The book is well documented and Dr. Paul deserves congratulations for the difficult task of telling the story of those 22 years within such brief compass. The references and bibliography will, it may be hoped, stimulate other scholars to work on this highly interesting period.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Mediaeval India by A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., M.A., LL.M. (Cantab.). Oxford University Press, London, 1932.

This book contains the substance of four lectures delivered in Urdu at the Hindustani Academy of Allahabad in 1928. The author confines

himself to social and economic conditions that prevailed in India during the seventh, tenth, eleventh and fourteenth centuries which form distinct periods of history. Mr. Yusuf Ali first cites his authorities which include literary sources, travellers' tales, inscriptions and art and then proceeds to describe life as lived in those days. How did the people live, what they had for food and dress, the crimes they committed and the penalties that were awarded, the various social adjustments required by changing circumstances—these and similar topics have been discussed in the book, though in a summary fashion, for we have to remember the book is a "substance" of the four lectures, not the full-fledged lectures.

The importance of the book is obvious. The studies, to quote Prof. Hearnshaw, who has written a very enjoyable introduction, "relate to a little known but profoundly interesting period of Indian history. They deal, moreover, with an aspect of Indian life, namely, the social and economic, hitherto inadequately examined, an aspect incomparably harder to see in entirety and perspective than is the political or even the religious history of the great sub-continent." There can be no doubt of the truth of this opinion. Mr. Yusuf Ali has shown the way to a highly interesting line of research; it now remains for others to follow it up and present it to the people in their own vernacular. What has been possible in Urdu is possible in the case of the other vernaculars as well. The book should find a ready welcome with all students of Indian history.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Dream Cargoes by David W. Cade. Published by Dean & Co., New York, 1928.

This is a collection of lyrics on diverse subjects. Mr. Cade is accustomed to rhyming and the lines drop from him naturally, sometimes with delightful freshness. Specially enjoyable are the quatrains that are apparently used for padding. Mr. Cade is not afraid to experiment; though he is at best in the shorter line he can also exclaim

"Loom London's dark towers, frowning, warning and urging him,"
(*Jack Cade of Kent.*)

"To where pleasant harbors wait for all who greatly dare,"
(*"Joseph Conrad is dead."*)

and, most of all,

"Three endless, stagnant spaces, where never a song is unabashed
and never a long wave breaks"

(*"Death outside the gate."*)

Mr. Cade has the power of calling up a quickness of sensibility and the best example is to be found in his "*Drums ! Drums !*" The poet is not given to innovation except very occasionally, and those rare cases do not jar on the ear. The reader will learn to like him, as he reads the poems.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

A Junior Chemistry by E. J. Holmyard, M.A., M.Sc., D.Litt., F.I.C., pp. viii+376. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London.

Dr. Holmyard has already gained a high reputation as a writer of juvenile text-books, and this has been ably maintained in the present volume as well. The book deals with some important metals and non-metals. The treatment, as the author remarks, is "mainly qualitative and the chemical theory has been reduced to a minimum." Exception has, however, been made, and rightly too, in the case of atomic theory, because it is not difficult even for the young mind to form some rough

idea or picture of matter, as being made up of numerous particles held together. This will enable the pupil to follow intelligently the reaction and properties of chemical substances, which he will encounter frequently during his study. At the end of each chapter there is a summary followed by questions.

The book abounds in illustrations with reproductions of the photographs of many eminent chemists of the past and present. Plates on many interesting subjects have also been reproduced. On the whole, the book has been written in such a fascinating manner that it will not fail to appeal to the interest and curiosity of the young readers. The author in the preface writes that he has "tried to make the book such that a boy or girl may read it for pleasure, not because he or she has so many pages to get up for prep." The author has certainly succeeded in this object.

P. RAY

A Text-book of Chemistry by H. A. Wootton, M.A., and C. W. R. Hooker, M.A., pp. viii+488. Cambridge University Press.

The book has been written to cover the syllabus for the School Certificate Examination. Theoretical and descriptive parts of the subjects have been dealt together, and the authors believe that introduction to the theory at an early stage is helpful to the student. Many will, however, disagree with this view. Preparations and practical exercises including selected analytical methods have been placed in a separate part (Part II) of the book. Collection of questions from School Certificate Papers finds a place at the end. The book is liberally illustrated with reproduction of many portraits and plates. Emphasis has rightly been laid upon experiments as forming the basis of instruction in chemistry, and the book has been written in such a way as to clarify and illustrate the chemical theories by means of experiments. The book will be quite useful for the purpose for which it has been written.

P. RAY

Elementary Organic Chemistry by B. C. L. Kemp, M.A., F.C.S., pp. ix+356. J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., London.

As the name implies, the book is written for the students taking their first lessons in Organic Chemistry. It, therefore, deals only with selected and fundamental topics. Suggestion for practical work has been added at the end of each chapter. The book is written in a lucid style with an attractive presentation and a simple and apparent scheme. Principles of modern and up-to-date industrial methods have been briefly described, and several plates showing manufacturing processes have been reproduced. A short and clear account of the theoretical principles, neatly illustrated with model figures, has also been given in the beginning of the book. All the diagrams are very clear and well-printed. In the opinion of the reviewer, the book may be strongly recommended for the beginners.

P. RAY

A School Course of Chemistry by J. R. Partington, M.B.E., D.Sc., pp. x+388. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1930, London.

The present book may be regarded as an abridged form of the author's "Everyday Chemistry." The subject-matter has been arranged in such a way as to suit the school course and to enable the students to follow the sequence of topics without much difficulty. The book has been written in a simple but orthodox scientific style. Like the author's two other excellent

and well-known text-books, written for advanced and intermediate students respectively, the present volume is also likely to achieve as much popularity.

P. RAY

Byathar Parag (a Bengali Book of Poems) by Krishnadhan De, published by Asokachandra Chatterjee from the Prabashi Office at 120/2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta, pp. 81. Re. 1-8.

This is a small volume of lyric poems in Bengali. There are very few writers of Bengali poetry in these days who have not come under the influence of Tagore or of the tradition created by him and kept up by some of his disciples like Datta, Bagchi and Mallik. It is not therefore surprising that these lyrics should bear some trace of the author's close study and imitation of the great poet whose work is marked by a distinct poetic diction and a characteristic type of imagery.

Mr. De says that this is his first effort, and as such this volume is certainly a welcome production. The poems are in the form of complaints—a device which, though not original, is rarely resorted to in Bengali literature, and it is this form which has suggested the title of the book in which flowers unburden their souls in a melancholy strain. Some of the poems carry the mind back to the glory of Ancient India—to the love-episodes of immortal poets like Kalidas,—and some to the moonlit gardens of Iran and Basrah.

The reader, however, feels the monotony of reiteration as he goes through these complaints, but the author has tried to introduce variety as far as possible in his treatment and imagery. It is not always true that one cannot have too much of a good thing; for even perfection of rhyme and metrical effect may sometimes become wearisome and degenerate into a mere sing-song. While our poet has managed to steer clear of this extreme, the defect nonetheless appears in his work, though in a less pronounced form, and we fail to find there what has been called 'concerted harmony.' It may be noted that what have been called 'run-on' lines are conspicuous by their absence and end-stopped verses, in consequence of their predominance, have grown wearisome and monotonous. The music in some of the poems at least is cloying and one is led to wish that there were at times a more manly note. But Mr. De has undoubtedly the gift of song, though it may require more assiduous cultivation. He has also got a directness of utterance which is not a very prominent mark of current Bengali poetry. Clear thinking never fails him, though at times it is blurred by an exuberant fancy. When all is said and done, we may congratulate our young poet on his first publication, and we hope to see more of his charming work.

MOHINIMOHAN BHATTACHARYYA

Nirukta (with the fragments of two commentaries of Skandaswami and Maheswara). Edited with variants at the foot of each page by Prof. Lakshman Sarupa, M.A., of the Oriental College, Lahore.

This is a valuable Vedic treatise. But our only regret is that only a fragment has been obtained and published.

The learned editor whose name has already become associated with the *Nirukta* has, after a good deal of discussion, come to the conclusion that of the two commentaries published herein Skandaswami wrote the *Bhasya* on *Nirukta* and Maheswara only commented upon this *Bhasya* for further elucidation of the difficulties. The explanations given in the *Bhasya* appear to be thorough and complete and learned, so much so that such explanation is indispensable for the clear understanding of the subjects dealt with in the *Nirukta* itself, and of the hymns quoted therein.

We only regret that both the *Bhasya* and the *Tika* are fragmentary, but we hope that the energetic editor will one day discover the whole of these.

KOKILESWAR SASTRI

Mana-meyodaya. (A primer on the *Mimāṃsā*) by Narayana Bhatta. Edited with an English translation by C. Kunhan Raja and S. S. Suryyanarayana Sastri of the University of Madras. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.

It is a good sign of the day that valuable materials for the study of Indian philosophy in its various schools which are contained in the works of *Prakarana* type composed by best scholars who have made their subject their special study, are now and then being published, and their number accumulates as years pass. There are subjects which are not so well known to the reading public, as most of them lie as yet in MSS. and even when some of these are printed, the difficulty is not removed in the absence of explanatory comments. But thanks to the loving labour of devoted scholars hailing now and then from different parts of India we find almost every year works with good English translations which make the path easy for those students of philosophy who take interest in their subjects, enabling them to comprehend the abstruse matters which without such help will remain a sealed book.

One of such works we have got for review. The value of the text can hardly be overestimated. It contains everything useful for the followers of the Kumarila school of *Mimāṃsā*. The valuable information supplied by the work with regard to the collection of facts and criticism, makes it indispensable for students and scholars. Now that the energetic editors have come forward and boldly undertaken the difficult task of presenting this well-known treatise on the *Mimāṃsā* school under an English translation, they have indeed earned the permanent gratitude of Indologists by publishing this priceless treasure. So far as we have seen, the English translations appear to have been executed with a scrupulous care that reflects great credit on the joint editors. As the study of Indian philosophical works is becoming increasingly popular in this country, the publication of such reliable and faithful translation has been most opportune. The book is also calculated to be of great service to all students qualifying for the M. A. degree course of Indian Universities, as it gives a clear and lucid account, in English, of the various topics treated herein, which are not always easily understood by the students of *Mimāṃsā*, far less by the general public. The book will serve as an admirable and very serviceable introduction, as it will initiate the students into the mysteries of a subject, the value of which for a proper grasp of some of the well-known but the knotty subjects and problems, cannot be exaggerated. The supreme merit of the original text is the fact that it avoids controversies for the most part and yet it is neither too brief nor too big. It does not condense things so as to make them unintelligible except to a few, nor does it launch upon long and subtle controversies beyond the grasp of ordinary readers. It has adopted a middle course and is therefore just the kind of work which will be welcome to those who are interested in the subject.

The text is mainly divided into two parts: the first part gives the *pramāṇa*, i.e., the means for acquiring valid knowledge of objects dealt with in the *Mimāṃsā* school. This part contains such means only as are admitted by this school, viz., *pratyakṣa* (Immediate Perception), *anumāna* (Inference) together with *hetwabhasas* (the fallacious reasonings), *upamāna* (Analogy), *arthapatti* (Presumption), and *abhava* (Non-existence or Negation). The second part enumerates and discusses the *prameyā* which are the objects of valid knowledge—categories admitted

in the *Mimansha* school. Incidentally, it also deals with the Law of Causality contrasting it with the theories held in other schools, such as *asatkaryavada*, etc. In discussing the nature of Atma, one of the categories, the author refutes materialism here, *viz.*, the theories which hold the views—body is the soul, the sense-organs are the soul, the series of ideas are the soul, etc., etc. Then the text goes on to review the nature of the theory of *sphota* and examines the views of *Sankhya* and *Sankara-vedanta* on this point. Then discussing the nature of the Genus or Universal he closes his discussion on the Category or Substance. After examining the Quality, Action, Negation, Similarity, Inference and the Category of *Sakti*, the author gives us a clear account of the different sects of the Bauddhas—the *madhyamika* theory of *Sunya* (void); the *Yogachara* (cognition); *Soutrantic* and *Vaibhasic* theories. An examination of the true character of Illusoriness then follows.

The author has not unnecessarily overloaded his pages with hair-splitting discussion of his subjects but has given, in each case, the most salient features of the topics in hand. He has not forgotten the fact that he was writing a manual for the beginners. The special feature of the work is its comparative study of various important topics. In giving a lucid account and exposition of the leading tenets of the *Bhatta-Kumarila*-school, the author brings under contribution the corresponding tenets of other philosophical schools—*Prabhakara*, *Nyaya*, *Advaita* and *Bauddha*.

The book is an excellent manual for a beginner and it stands in the same relation to the larger works on the *Mimansha*, as the *Vedanta-Paribhasa* serves for the larger *Advaita*-works. Towards the close of the translations of the text, the editors have taken care to append some 'notes' which explain somewhat elaborately certain difficult and hard topics discussed in the original, for the better and clearer grasp of those topics. A good Glossary explaining the meaning, in English, of some Sanskrit words is given at the end.

KOKILESWAR SASTRI

gleanings

A NEW UNIVERSITY FOR TURKEY

The Constantinople correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* (London) gives a very interesting account of a new University for Turkey. The whole educational system of Turkey is being reformed from top to bottom. On August 1, the seventy-year-old University of Stamboul, known as the Dar-ul-funun, was abolished and a new University set on foot in its place.

"At one time it had been proposed to erect the new institution at Angora, but it was decided later on that another university should be established at the capital and that for the moment the best thing to do was to destroy and rebuild the Constantinople institution. So a Swiss professor was called in to report, and was finally appointed to the three-year task of creating a fresh university on modern lines capable of giving to Turkish youth all the advantages of an up-to-date world culture.

"The Angora leaders complained that the Dar-ul-funun was not helping in these new times. It was standing apart from the great national changes. It was giving no lead to the youth of the country. The seventy-year-old University had shown itself out of touch with the revolution. It had taken no part in the formation of the new alphabet and language, no part in the creation of the new legal codes, no interest in the new tendencies of Turkish historical studies under the Ghazi, and no initiative in economic reforms. All these matters, which were matters for learning to tackle, had been worked out by the politicians themselves in the midst of State affairs. The University had made no contribution. It was clear, therefore, that an institution so out of touch with the new Turkey must go and must give place to something which would provide living scientific interests to the generations of the revolution.

"The new University has been endowed with four faculties and eight institutes. The faculties consist of literature, science, law, and medicine. The institutes comprise the Institute of the Turkish Revolution, which will be one of the most important sections, and those of national economy and sociology, geography, Turcology, psychology, chemistry, electro-mechanics, and Islamic Studies. It is to be noted that the Faculty of Theology has disappeared and has been replaced by the Institute of Islamic Studies, which will have a wider range and will preserve for Constantinople the possibility of being a true centre of Islamic knowledge. The training of theologians will practically cease, but there will be no danger of Turkey ceasing to maintain at least a scientific connexion with her Islamic past.

"Care has been taken to make the new institution liberal as well as utilitarian and scientific. Ancient Latin and Greek are to be taught for the first time. But there is no doubt that one of the chief results is expected from the section on the Turkish Revolution. This will be largely attended, and will aim at giving to Turkish youth a complete knowledge of the political, legal, and social principles behind the new Turkish State. It will provide the binding element between learning and the Republican ideals. The fact that Ghazi Kemal Pasha is himself the initiator of the present reform is shown by the fact that the first step he took in his holiday was to visit the University, and the chief secondary school at

Constantinople and to examine the students personally in matters concerning the new Turkey and the rationale of her emergence as a National State."

THE BATTLE OF PANIPAT: ITS CONSEQUENCES.

The Third battle of Panipat is a theme of peculiar interest to the student of Maratha history and supplies a fruitful subject for historical investigation. It has recently offered an opportunity to Mr. G. S. Sardesai to discuss the causes and consequences of that fateful battle in the pages of *The Modern Review* (Calcutta). In course of his study Mr. Sardesai observes:

"The battle of Panipat is usually understood by most writers to have given a final blow to the rising power of the Marathas. This I think is far from being the case. The loss was doubtless heavy so far as man-power was concerned; but beyond this, the disaster did not materially affect the Maratha fortunes. A younger generation arose to replace quickly the losses suffered at Panipat and so far as the Afghans were concerned, they did not gain anything by their victory. Ahmad Shah, already worn out by a long and harassing campaign of eighteen months and not caring to trust Najibud-Dowla or his lukewarm allies any longer, took his final leave, early in March 1761, of the Indian plains which had brought him no material profit and no longer sustained his claim to the Panjab, where the indigenous Sikhs were already establishing their sway. The Marathas made good their fortunes ten years later when the next Peshwa and his spirited generals including Mahadji Sindia brought the legitimate Emperor to Delhi and installed him on his hereditary throne under Maratha protection, thus fulfilling to the letter the sacred undertaking of 1752, and indirectly also the grand ideal of *Hindu-Pad-Padshahi* for which the Peshwas had been striving from the beginning of their regime. The crowning and declining point of Maratha fortunes was not the day that brought upon the Marathas the disaster of Panipat, but the day on which their best and most highly qualified ruler, Peshwa Madhavrao (I) died a premature death in 1772. The great Maratha historian corroborates this view indirectly when he writes that 'the plains of Panipat were not more fatal to the Maratha Empire than the early end of this excellent prince.'

"Even to-day Panipat stirs the heart of the Maratha as nothing else does. It is the disaster that has invested the event with all the glory and pride of a true soldier. More than once during the long wait of two and a half months when a body of over three lakhs of people were cooped up at Panipat, an escape was suggested by taking to flight and as often was the ignominious idea of saving life either by flight or by capitulation, spurned away equally by the non-combatants including women and servants. Writes Major Evans Bell: 'Even the battle of Panipat was a triumph and a glory for the Marathas. They fought in the cause of India for the Indians, while the great Mohammadan princes of Delhi, of Oudh and the Deccan stood aside intriguing and trimming; and though the Marathas were defeated, the victorious Afghans retired and never again interfered with the affairs of India.'

"But in a different sense the battle of Panipat did verily prove a turning-point in Indian history. In the middle of the 18th century, there were two strong parties contending for the mastery of India: the rising Marathas and the waning Moslems. A third Power, the British, were just rising on the Indian horizon. The first two so weakened each other by their mutual struggles culminating in Panipat that the field was made clear for the

third. The learned author of the *Origin of Bombay* (Dr. Gerson da Cunha) has fully grasped this point when he says that 'the fall of the Angrias and the disaster of Panipat freed the British from the thralldom of insidious neighbours and hastened their rise.' This is amply corroborated by the easy manner in which four years after Panipat, Clive obtained the Diwani of Bengal, *i.e.*, practically the mastery of that rich province and consequently of India. Bengal had then been subjugated by the Bhosla of Nagpur and had the Peshwas been victorious at Panipat, one feels certain that neither the Bhosla nor the Peshwa would have allowed Bengal to slip out of their hands so easily, leaving the situation for Clive to manage as best as he could under the prevailing circumstances."

ASSAM: AN UNTRODDEN FIELD FOR RESEARCH

In *The Journal of the Assam Research Society* (Gauhati, Assam) which is the organ of the recently constituted "Kamarupa Anusandhan Samiti" contains an illuminating article under the caption, "Assam as a Field for Research," by Mr. J. P. Mills, in which is put forth an able plea for undertaking systematic excavations in the untrodden surfaces of the province.

"Both the traditions and physical characteristics of some of the hill tribes make it pretty certain that the earliest inhabitants of Assam were of Negrito stock. The spade is not likely to reveal anything of these wandering folk, but they have left behind them an immense number of stone celts, probably the blades of digging sticks. These are found on or just below the surface and differ in a most interesting way in different areas of the Province. Though Negritos seem to have survived till comparatively recent times it is unlikely that any of their physical remains will be found. There is a strong tradition, however, that the remnants of the race were blocked into a cave near Haflong by a Kachari king. The site has never been revealed, but if it could be found it would be worth investigating.

"In dealing with more recent times the spade is an essential aid to research. There are tantalizing stories current of great walled towns buried deep in trackless jungle. Any clue of this kind should be followed up. Even the wonderful monuments of Dimapur lay forgotten for centuries. But apart from unknown sites Assam is rich in ruins which have never been properly cleared. There are, for example, the Kachari sites of Maibong and Khaspur. With spade and axe they could be cleared to enable a survey to be made. Many sites in Assam consist of earthworks only but they are none the less interesting on that account. For instance, there is a chain of immense forts on the Jaintia edge of the high plateau N. E. of Haflong. Who built them we do not know. All sites of towns and forts have rubbish heaps. It is these that should be most eagerly sought, for it is in them that we can hope to find coins, beads and other small imperishable objects.

"An archaeological characteristic of Assam of world-wide fame is its wealth of megaliths. Indeed it is one of the few places in the world where monuments of this type are still erected. Some of the old ones are of great age and interest. So covered with them is the high, sparsely populated plateau N. E. of Haflong that one dreams of a day when some of it may be turned into a National Park for the preservation for all time of the monuments and the wild animals that now roam near them at will. Among the monuments are groups of huge sandstone cists of a type unknown elsewhere. It fell to my lot to discover them. Though they

were visible for miles sticking up out of the short grass, they never seem to have been noticed before—a striking example of how much lies ready to hand for anyone interested in the past. Both on megaliths and rocks in Assam are often found most interesting drawings. The recording of these has been almost entirely neglected. Yet they are of the utmost interest.

“There is another task for which the aid of the camera and pencil is essential. There must exist in private hands in Assam a very large number of antiques of artistic interest,—brassware, silverware, ivory carvings, etc. There is good reason to believe, for instance, that only within the last fifteen years some of the insignia of the Ahom kings were melted down by the person into whose possession they had come. Such a crime can claim no forgiveness, but the loss would not have been so irreparable had a record first been made of these precious relics. I would suggest that the Samiti beg all private owners to allow any antiques of artistic merit in their possession to be photographed and described. There would be no loss to anyone and no expense involved, but a pictorial record of Assamese art would be built up.

“It is time now to turn from the dead past to the living present, not only because the present throws light on the past, but for its own intrinsic interest. For some years now the Government of Assam has financed a series of monographs on the hill tribes of Assam known wherever ethnology is studied. Much remains to be done and will, I trust, be done, till a series of unique value has been built up. But quite apart from research among the wilder tribes there is work of the utmost importance to which I would like to draw the attention of the ‘Kamarupa Anusandhan Samiti.’ Throughout the plains of Assam Hindu ceremonies are performed which differ in greater or less degree from those of other provinces. Kamakshya, for example, is a site regarded as sacred throughout the length and breadth of India. Can we not have a full description of the temple, with the date of the building of each part, and a picture of the ceremonial both past and present? Or again there are the great Gossains of the Majuli. Their disciples number thousands, but nowhere have we a picture of their mode of life, the beliefs they hold, the buildings they inhabit, or the ceremonial connected with them. Offerings have poured in for countless years and one’s mouth waters at the thought of the relics of past ages they must have brought. Could not some keen, skilled researchers portray and describe the precious things in their possession? It is not good enough to say, ‘It will do later.’ Ceremonial changes and antiques are destroyed or lost. Now is the time for study. Similarly with the village festivals throughout Assam. Years go by and they remain undescribed. For such research clear descriptions, photographs and drawings are required to be placed in the safe keeping of the Samiti. It is fatal to wait till there is money available for publication. The first step is to collect and preserve the material. Money for publication will come all in good time.”

INFLUENCE OF ISLAM ON GURU NANAK

Under the above caption Sardar Piyara Singh is contributing an interesting series of articles in *The Muslim Revival*, a quarterly journal of Muslim Thought and Life, recently started from Lahore. In the first instalment of the series the author showed that Guru Nanak was not only a strict observer of *Namaz* (Islamic prayer) but also a preacher of the same. Now he quotes chapter and verse to prove that Nanak was also an ardent advocate of the Islamic *Zakat*, the Fast, and the *Haj*.

"*Zakat* is an obligatory charity at a fixed rate of one's income which, under proper organization and control, is spent on the poor members of society. Among the followers of the Guru Shahib, *Daswandh*, i.e., one-tenth of one's income is the recognised rate of charity under the Guru's orders. Referring to this the Guru says:

1. Earn an honest living of labour. Out of this, spend something with your hand in the way of God. Then can you find the straight path.
2. Only that stands one in good stead in the coming life which is earned with labour and spent in God's way.

"Then comes the Islamic fast. Here again, Guru Nanak is full of praises for this institution. Says he:

1. The pious have cut a sunder the chains of the world and eat and drink very sparingly.
2. Woe unto the sort of life which is nothing but eating and swelling the belly.
3. Make the thirty fasts your protectors and the five prayers your comrade. Otherwise the devil will tempt you and cause your name to be struck off.
4. The mosque teaches love and affection. Prayer teaches righteousness. The Quran explains what is permissible and what is forbidden. Following the *sumat* makes one inculcate modesty. Fasting teaches forbearance. So it behoves you to be a Muslim.

"As regards Haj, the evidence is of the clearest possible nature so that it is agreed on all hands that Guru Nanak duly performed the Pilgrimage to Mecca. When on the way, the Guru had some *Mullahs* also in his company. They were ignorant of the true significance underlying the Haj and considered it a sort of atonement for past sins. The Guru's spiritual talks were not quite to their taste and so parting company they went ahead. Guru Nanak perceiving what was in their mind deliberately stayed behind, so addressing Mardana:

Mardana! Let these Hajis go. If it is our *kismet* to perform the Haj of the Holy Kaaba, we will also reach it. Mardana! This is a path such that if we show love and affection and do religious service as we go along, we get blessings. If however we indulge in nonsense, gossip, mockery and mutual ill-will we are certainly no Hajis.

(*Sakhi of Bhai Bala*, page 130.)

"Bhai Gurdas thus describes Guru Nanak's Pilgrimage to the Kaaba:

After that Guru Nanak went to Mecca. Wearing blue clothes, carrying a walking club in hand, slinging the Quran around his neck, having a jug for ablutions and a carpet for prayer, calling out the Azan and saying Namaz, he reached Kaaba and put up at the Kaaba. At night the Guru slept with his feet towards the *mihrab*. At this Mulla Jiwan kicked him and said: 'O sinner Kafir! why are you lying with your feet towards God's House?' Taking hold of his legs, he was going to turn them round but the Kaaba turned along with them. Thus did he show them his miracle.

"These words prove beyond a shadow of doubt that Guru Nanak went to Mecca and with what equipment is also obvious enough. He had nothing with him except what is necessary for a pious, devoted Muslim, viz., the Quran, jug, prayer-carpet, etc. The account also shows that he was not content with putting up in Mecca. He put up right at the Kaaba. As regards the incident of the feet, it is quite likely that it took place while he was asleep. Mulla Jiwan whose name shows he was the typical narrow-minded Punjabi Mulla could not, however, excuse this unconscious sleep and flew into a fit of rage. To disillusion him, however, that God was not in the Kaaba alone, the spiritual phenomenon (*kashf*) of the turning of the Kaaba was necessary. Not that the Kaaba actually did turn round; it seemed to be turning round—a phenomenon not unknown to the sufis and known as *kashf*. The idea was to impress upon the thick-skinned Mulla that the limbs of godly people are not their own limbs but are in a way

the limbs of God and as such even the Kaaba turns around them. Mohy-ud-Din Ibn Arbi says, that when he went to pay a visit to the Kaaba, the latter stood up to greet and honour him and went up towards the sky.

"Those who think that Guru Nanak went to Mecca to propagate the Hindu religion are obviously mistaken. If he were against Islam, why did he put on the appearance of a Muslim Haji? To say that he put on this dress to disguise himself is to our mind an insult to the great memory of the Guru. The truth is that he went there in all sincerity as a true Muslim, at heart as in appearance. If the Muslims call him Haji Guru Nanak (may God bless his soul), they do so as a mark of high respect for him. Rather than resent it, the Sikhs should say that since you revere our religious founder as a great and holy saint, one of the chosen of God, we reciprocate the same sentiments towards your Prophet and revere him as a chosen of God. That will surely foster fraternal feelings between the two communities."

THE REBIRTH OF CHINA

"Things to-day are more stable in China. It is her misfortune that her most important news rarely gets on to the front pages of the newspapers. For nearly two years Manchuria has receded into the second rank among the things that really matter. "Meanwhile changes have been taking place in China," writes Mr. O. M. Green in the *Nineteenth Century* (London), "changes not only political, but psychological. With all the caution that many disappointments have taught us, there is good reason to believe that China stands on the threshold of a new era." This new era dawned after the open strife between Canton and Nanking, the former having always been the stronghold of the *Kuomintang*, and the latter the centre of the Chiang-Kai-Shek government that had been trying to break the *Kuomintang* monopoly.

"Then came the announcement of a new policy which has already meant much, and may, if the fates are kind, mean yet more. The Nanking Government proclaimed that it would fight no more civil wars, except against the Communists; other regions must do as they pleased; it would concentrate upon its own sphere, the Yangtze Valley (which contains some 170,000,000 of the most industrious people and some of the most fruitful lands in the world), and leave the rest to the future. To this resolve it has held in spite of a good deal of provocation, and undoubtedly much practical reform has been achieved. Administrative expenses have been pruned, the conversion of internal loans has saved \$100,000,000 a year, and even the army has been rationed. Altogether expenditure has been cut down by \$200,000,000 annually; a number of taxes—wine and tobacco, stamps, etc.—have been consolidated into a single administration with great increase in economy and efficiency; and by the end of last year Nanking had balanced its books for the first time without borrowing.

"Not the least important and hopeful part of the new policy is the bid made for the support of that shrewd, sagacious class, the great body of businessmen, while the power of the *Kuomintang* has certainly been reduced. Thus the majority of the Board which, under the presidency of Mr. T. V. Soong, now controls Nanking's finances is composed of leading bankers and merchants. In the provinces the district councils have been replaced by civil governors with plenary powers, and provincial legislative committees are to be elected by the business classes themselves, both to assist the civil governors against the military and at the same time to

prevent the former from abusing their powers. It is true that these committees as yet seem only to have come into existence in Shanghai and Nanking, but the movement towards them appears to be significant. Nothing is more worth watching in China to-day than the growing demand of her businessmen for a voice in affairs of State.

"Everyone returning from the Far East is familiar with the fatuous question, 'Well, and when is China going to settle down?' The only possible answer is, 'Which China do you mean?' Now, counting Manchuria, there are at least five Chinas—Canton in the South; Nanking in the Centre; the North (in a generally fluid state very difficult to define); the huge western province of Szechuan; and the Communists.

"It is an appalling problem to find an order out of this chaos of political conglomeration. Still, a practical beginning has been made. Something has been achieved, and that on the only lines that offer hope of ultimate order, by trying to create an orderly State within a limited area, and expanding its boundaries as opportunity serves. This, too, is the historic method pursued in China by every new dynasty; and such is the force of public opinion that if within the next few years Nanking can show a good record in the Yangtze Valley other districts must inevitably be drawn into its orbit by sheer weight of public demand. The very accentuation of present divisions may be the best augury of ultimate reunion, not on a basis of force, but of reason and mutual advantage. Moreover, an effort by the Powers to lend that help to the Nanking Government which the Lytton Report urged so strongly, and without which it is hard to believe that Nanking can succeed, becomes feasible if it can be applied within a limited area. The problem of China as a whole can only be solved by the Chinese themselves in their own time and in their own way. But the problem of the Yangtze Valley, accessible at every point by its endless network of rivers and creeks, is an altogether more manageable matter.

"In framing an active, constructive policy in China some obvious ideas easily suggest themselves. China is weak in administrative experience. Nanking needs help in building up, as she is trying to do, an effective civil service. A well-organised gendarmerie to police roadways and waterways is most necessary; incidentally, it would form a valuable outlet for China's superfluous troops. There is an enormous field for help in industrial and economic development, road-making, bridge-building, and factory legislation suited to the country's peculiar conditions, all of which are essential to any hope of progress.

"As one surveys the general picture of China, the prevailing feature is incoherence—endless political associations vociferating their own nostrums; departments and bureaux tumbling over each other and stultifying action; feverish imitation of impracticable Western models; regulations which no one obeys; agitators agitating for every reform except the virtues of dull, honest work. Yet, amid so much that is disheartening, false and pretentious, one discerns the growth of something like a steady purpose. No doubt throughout vast tracts of China the present disorder is regarded merely as one of the normal periods of chaos between one dynasty and another; but impulses have been imparted which cannot be checked. New China is becoming more Chinese—as witness the revolt against the *Kuomintang*; Old China is beginning to peep out of its shell. The increasing popularity of motor cars, aeroplanes, radio, electric light and other Western conveniences of life may as yet mean no more than superficial changes, but they cannot fail in time to affect thought and opinion. More and more, one ventures to believe, old and new must tend to draw together for the production of some workable system, moulded by Western example to modern needs, but tested and approved by Chinese custom and instinct.

At Home and Abroad

[A Monthly Record of News relating to Schools, Colleges, Universities, and other Cultural and Academic Institutions.]

Bombay wants an Elected Vice-Chancellor

The Senate of the Bombay University at a recent meeting adopted a resolution which demanded an elected Vice-Chancellor and recommended to the Government of Bombay to amend the University Act so that the Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University would be elected by the Senate itself instead of being nominated by the Chancellor. The suggestion caused a lively debate, most of the speakers emphasising the desirability of having an elected Vice-Chancellor as against a nominated one. Mr. E. Hamil strongly supported the principle of nomination, holding that the cordial relations between Government and the University could not be maintained in a better way. The supporters of the resolution wanted a change as they did not want 'the anachronism of a nominated Vice-Chancellor over an elected body (the Senate) to continue.' Dr. B. G. Vaid, moving the resolution, said that in many public bodies nomination had been displaced by election. That had happened in the Legislative Assembly, the Legislative Councils, and local bodies. It was their desire that the University also should have an elected Vice-Chancellor. An elected Vice-Chancellor would further add to the dignity and prestige of the Senate. Dr. G. V. Deshmukh, supporting the resolution, said that the Senate had sufficiently advanced to have an elected Vice-Chancellor. The resolution was passed by 38 votes against 24.

All-India Oriental Conference

The All-India Oriental Conference—an organisation of scholars interested in history, languages, ethnology, philosophy and other subjects on Indology—have elected Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, Patna, as their President for the sixth All-India session. The electoral body consists of scholars from different parts of India. On the invitation of the Government of Baroda, the session will be held at Baroda during the ensuing X'mas week, when His Highness the Gaekwar will be present in his capital.

Rangoon University Convocation

It has been decided to hold the annual convocation of the University of Rangoon in December; but as the High Court refused to recognise the provisional certificates granted to successful law students, a special convocation was recently held. The members of the Council and the Senate were present and the Vice-Chancellor U Set was specially deputed by the Chancellor to preside at the convocation which was very informal. The recipients of the degree of B.L. included two Burmese lady students while a degree of B.A. *in absentia* was conferred on Ma Saw Yin, another lady student who is away in England at present.

United States Universities

Four of America's prominent colleges and Universities have just named new Presidents, and in all cases have named notably young men. Dr. Harold Willis Dodds, at 44, will be the youngest man in 175 years to occupy the presidency of Princeton University, and Dr. James B. Conant will be the third youngest man ever to be President of Harvard. He is a little over 30. Hunter College, in New York City, has just named Dr. Eugene A. Collings, President at 45, and Dr. Bancroft Beatty, the new head of Simmons College, in Boston, is 38.

Rangoon University Finance

Financial stringency and the need for rigid economy loomed large in the University administration throughout the year. Many economies were made in the cost of administration. Despite reductions of Government subventions to University and the colleges from 12½ lakhs in 1929-30 to 9½ lakhs during 1932-33 and rising numbers seeking admission, the University surrendered to Government Rs. 47,500 of the annual subvention of Rs. 1,20,000 and reduced its total expenditure during 1932-33 by about Rs. 96,000. Further it made reductions in the proposed expenditure for the year 1933-34 amounting to Rs. 1,10,000. These figures do not include economies effected or to be effected in the internal administration of the constituent colleges which amount to considerable sums.

The number of the students in the University during the year 1932-33 was 1,783 including 284 women distributed in the constituent colleges—University, Judson, Teachers' Medical and Intermediate at Mandalay.

Patna University Convocation

Sir R. P. Paranjpaye, Vice-Chancellor of the Lucknow University, will deliver the Convocation address in the ensuing Convocation of the Patna University to be held in the Wheeler Senate House on November 25, next.

Gifts for Education

With the consent of his widow, Srimati Katyayani Debi, the endowment created by the late Babu Hiralal Mukherjee of Sridharpore, Burdwan, for Rs. 20,000 will be utilised for the establishment and maintenance of a Sanskrit *tol*.

Babu Jatindranath Ghose has made a donation of Rs. 18,362 for the establishment of a High English School at Burikhali, Howrah.

Education of Muslims

The Mohamedan Educational Association of Southern India has done much for the educational progress of the Muslim community, and warm appreciation of its activities was expressed at the 31st annual general meeting held recently at the Lawley Hall, Mount Road, Madras. The Hon. Sir Mahomed Usman, President, was in the chair, and there was a large gathering of members. Mr. Hameed Hassan who moved for the adoption of the Annual Report expressed his satisfaction with the work of the Association during the year and congratulated the office-bearers. He pointed out that during the last ten years the Association had greatly helped in the progress of education among Muslim women and had awarded a large number of scholarships. There was a great need for Muslim school mistresses and women doctors, and applications from women would receive due consideration. The Hon. Sir Mahomed Usman was re-elected President. He observed that as a result of the good work of the Association, the Government had placed their seal of appreciation on its endeavours and had recognised the body for certain purposes. The Association was now represented in the Madras and Annamalai Universities. Sir Mahomed appealed to the members of the Association to work together in the real

Islamic spirit. To fight their own battle in the political sphere and to take their proper place in the country the Muslim community should equip itself efficiently from the educational point of view. The Association should, therefore, be helped to carry on its activities in an increasing measure, and Sir Mahomed appealed to the community, especially the wealthy members thereof, to help the Association financially.

Assam Sanskrit Association

The Assam Sanskrit Association has been re-constituted with the Director of Public Instruction as President and His Excellency the Governor of Assam and the Hon'ble the Minister of Education as patrons. The large deliberative body consists of 32 Pandits of Sanskrit *toles* of Surma Valley and Assam Valley, 10 Honorary Members, 16 non-official Hindu gentlemen, 9 representatives of different branches of *Sastras* and 12 Government officers most of whom are Professors and Principals of Colleges of both the Valleys of Assam.

The Presidency College, Calcutta

In reply to a question in a recent meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council by Maulvi Azizur Rahaman, the Hon'ble Minister in charge of Education stated that two posts in the Bengal Educational Service, the posts of the Steward, of the Roll-clerk and of seven bearers in the Presidency College have been retrenched by which a saving of Rs. 15,435 has been effected.

World Federation of Educational Associations

The World Federation of Educational Associations met in Dublin during the first week of August. The idea of the Federation is American. The first meeting was held in San Francisco. It grew out of the decision of the National Educational Association of the United States to examine the possibility of furthering the ideal of world peace through education, and to devise a programme which would emphasise the necessity of co-operation and goodwill among the nations. About six hundred delegates attended the San Francisco meeting, and many of them, specially those from Asiatic countries, came at the expense of their Governments.

"World peace through education" is therefore the fundamental principle of the Federation, which works towards a group of objectives, the underlying purpose of which is that education might render its share of service to a world struggling to lay the spectre of war.

Madras University encourage Vernaculars

The Academic Council of the Madras University in a recent meeting, Sir K. Ramuni Menon, Vice-Chancellor, presiding, considered a proposal to award prizes for approved works on modern subjects in Dravidian languages. The history of this subject dates from the year 1925. At its meeting held in March, 1932, the Senate considered a report of the Syndicate that an annual allotment of Rs. 3,000 be made for the encouragement of the publication of modern works, the amount to be awarded as prizes for approved publications in the Dravidian Languages—Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kanarese—each year's allotment being divided among the four Dravidian Languages. The Senate approved of the proposal to institute prizes for the encouragement of publications of modern works in Dravidian Languages, subject to the understanding that, in framing draft

Statutes required under the Act, the Syndicate would keep in view, as the chief object, the creation of such literature in Dravidian Languages on current thought as might be suitable for non-detailed study in the Intermediate, B.A. and B.Sc. courses and requested the Syndicate to place draft Statutes before the next meeting of the Senate after consulting the Boards of Studies concerned and the Academic Council. The Syndicate drafted a Statute and Rules and referred them to the Boards of Studies in the Dravidian Languages. The Boards having submitted their report the Syndicate considered them and referred the matter to the Faculty of Oriental Learning for consideration and report. The Faculty again considered the same and made its recommendations to the Syndicate, which accepted them.

Madras University

In a recent meeting of the newly constituted Academic Council of the Madras University Mr. S. Satyamurthy moved that "in and from the public examination of 1937, the examination in non-language subjects shall be conducted in Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kanarese or Urdu, whichever of these is the mother-tongue of the candidate, or in English for those candidates whose mother-tongue is not one of these five languages." He pointed out that there was no country in the world, ancient, mediæval or modern, Occidental or Oriental, in which a foreign language was the medium of instruction. It was an intellectual monstrosity obtaining only in India. Most of the members favoured the proposal, but on a motion of Mm. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, the question was referred to the Syndicate for report after consultation with the Boards of Studies.

In the same meeting the Council adopted a resolution moved by Rao Bahadur Dr. A. Lakshmana Swami Mudaliyar proposing that a Degree in Veterinary Science called "B.Sc. Veterinary" be instituted in the University.

Lucknow University Convocation

The next convocation of the University of Lucknow will be held on December 9, in the Canning College, Lucknow. His Excellency the Chancellor will preside and the convocation address will be delivered by Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer.

Primary Education in Travancore

The Government of Travancore are considering the report of the Educational Reforms Inquiry Committee appointed by them, with Mr. R. M. Statham as Chairman, to inquire into the state of education in the State and to suggest measures to improve it. The Committee has recommended, it is believed, that elementary education be made free and small stipends paid to children who are very poor in order to encourage their parents to send them to school. Another recommendation is to reduce the fees in the Higher Elementary Classes. The Committee does not consider it necessary to maintain separate elementary schools for girls, except for Muslim girls. It is suggested that special attention should be devoted to the admission of depressed classes children to the common schools and to the appointment of teachers belonging to those communities. Schools will have discretion to make the vernacular the medium of instruction. The Committee urges the abolition of the Vernacular Middle Schools and the opening, in their place, of English Middle Schools with provision for industrial training. Another proposal is the establishment of a technological institute, one of the subjects to be taught being engineering.

Regarding the administration of the Education Department the Committee thinks, it is understood, that a Deputy Director and a Financial Assistant should be appointed to help the Director of Public Instruction. In addition to the administration report published annually, the Committee wants an educational survey to be made every five years. It is also suggested that the rules for the recognition of schools should be modified so as to encourage aided schools to institute provident funds and to enforce a prescribed form of agreement between managers and teachers.

Primary Education in Bengal

Six District Boards in Bengal are to initiate an interesting educational experiment from the beginning of the next financial year with the setting up of District School Boards to control primary education within their Districts under provisions of the Bengal Primary Education Bill, 1930. There will be placed at their disposal (a) a grant not less than the grants previously paid by the Government to that district and (b) an amount contributed by the District Board not less than the average amount spent by the Board upon primary education during the last four years. The District School Boards will be constituted according to the Act and will be specially qualified for dealing with educational problems in the district. It is hoped that by their preliminary work in surveying the educational needs of the district and in the making of definite plans for the spread of education, they will make rapid and satisfactory progress when the economic situation of the province improves. The six districts where this experiment will be conducted are Mymensingh, Chittagong, Noakhali, Dinajpur, Pabna and Birbhum. The experience of these Boards, it is expected, will be of great value not only for better control of education within these particular districts but also in giving information as to the directions in which, if any, changes are necessary when a more widespread application of the Act is possible.

Indian Education in Fiji.

The following extracts are taken from the Report on Education in Fiji for the Year 1932.

Government Schools

The first Government school for Indians was established at Natabua in 1919. Samabula School was taken over from a local committee in 1929, and Andrews and Votualevu in 1930. Vatuwaqa Indian Girls' School was built in 1930, and Karavi and Waidikora Schools in 1931.

In September, 1930, a secondary department was added to the Natabua Primary School.

The fees in the primary school are 1s. a month and in secondary department £2 10s. per term.

Agricultural Education

From 1909 to 1911, under the Headmastership of Mr. W. L. Waterhouse. H.D.A. (now Dr. Waterhouse, Professor of Agriculture, Sydney University), both technical and agricultural education were carried on at the boys' school, but only to a limited extent, as far as the latter branch was concerned, on account of the limited means and the unsuitable nature of the land.

Two students who had finished their course in technical instruction at Davuilevu were sent to the Hawkesbury Agricultural College in New South Wales. Six Indian Students from Dilkusha were also sent to an agricultural school at Allahabad in India. On the return of these eight students the Mission, with the assistance of the Government, established an agricultural school on the Navuso Estate, recently acquired by the Mission and situated about three miles further up the river than Davuilevu.

Primary Education

In 1932 the number of Government schools increased from six to seven, and of assisted schools from 37 to 41. In addition there were 16 unassisted schools. The total number of Indians enrolled in all schools was 4,684, of whom 3,608 were boys and 1,076 girls, with an average attendance of 81 per cent.

In 1931, 38 per cent. of pupils were in Class 1 and 19.5 per cent. in Class 2.

In 1932 these percentages had fallen to 36 and 17, respectively. The difference between the numbers in Classes 1 and 2 indicates retardation explained partly by understaffing and the consequent neglect of the lowest class. The position will improve each year as the supply of certificated teachers increases. The existence of one-teacher schools will, however, prevent situation improving rapidly. The parochialism of Indians in country districts together with the mutual antipathy of the various races and creeds prevents the grouping of Indian schools which, without any increase in the number of teachers, would allow of proper instructions being given to the youngest children.

Secondary Education

Approved Indian pupils may enrol in the secondary department of the Natabua Indian School. The fees are £7 10s. a year. The average roll in 1932 was 21. The curriculum includes the usual secondary subjects with the addition of agriculture, wood-work, book-keeping and business principles.

Training of Teachers

As part of the economy measures taken by Government the number of teachers in training was reduced from 36 to 26. At the end of the year there were 12 Indians (including one not supported by Government) and 15 Fijians on the roll.

Female Education

There were 21 schools for non-European girls in 1931 and only 16 in 1932 although the number of girls in all such schools increased from 6,508 to 6,599. The difference in the number of schools is not due to the closing of girls' schools but to the admission of boys usually in the lower classes. In 1931, 216 and in 1932, 230 schools admitted pupils of both sexes. Co-education of the sexes does not prevent Fijian girls from attending school. It does, however, partly account for the fact shown in Appendix 6 that Indian girls in boys' schools leave school at about the age of ten. The supply of certificated women teachers is slowly improving, but many schools that are anxious to employ women teachers cannot get any applications. The difficulty of procuring suitable board and lodging in country districts will always deter many women from leaving their homes.

Ourselves

[The Late Srimati Sailasuta Debi—Tagore Law Professor—University Appointments—Bagiswari Professor of Fine Arts—Changes in the Regulations—Students proceeding Abroad—. A New D. Sc.—Orissa and Our University—Subjects for Tagore Law Professorship—Jagattarini Medalist—Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecturer—Government Conference—University Students' Information Bureau—Girishchandra Ghose Lecturer—Law Examinations—Government Servants and University Examinations—Controller of Examinations—Progress of Researches—Our Frontispiece.]

THE LATE SRIMATI SAILASUTA DEBI

We regret to announce the death of Srimati Sailasuta Debi, who placed at the disposal of the University in April, 1928, Government promissory notes of the face value of one lac and fifty thousand rupees for the promotion of Scientific and Technical Education and the development of Applied Science and Scientific Industry. The scholarship was created in commemoration of her husband, the late Babu Radhikamohan Ray, who was a Zamindar and a son of the late Babu Mohinimohan Ray who during his days was one of the acknowledged leaders of the Vakil Bar of the Calcutta High Court. On the occasion of the death of the founder of this scholarship we cannot but pay our tribute to her memory for the practical interest displayed by her in the cause of industrial regeneration of this province.

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TAGORE LAW PROFESSOR

On the recommendation of the Faculty of Law the Senate has appointed Mr. Ramaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., Advocate of the High Court and Professor of the University Law College, Tagore Professor of Law for the year 1934. The subject of his lectures will be *The History of Development of Hindu Law in British India*. While moving the acceptance of the proposal before the Senate, Mr. Justice Mitter, Dean of the Faculty of Law, referred to the fact that the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee delivered the Tagore lectures thirty-six years ago and added that this was the first time in the history of this ancient foundation that both father and son had been called upon to fill the chair. We offer our cordial congratulations to Mr. Mookerjee on his appointment.

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UNIVERSITY APPOINTMENTS

Mr. Jaygopal Banerjee, University Professor of English, has been re-appointed Professor till the end of the current academic session. His term expires on 31st October, 1933.

Mr. Kokileswar Sastri, M.A., a whole-time Lecturer in the department of Sanskrit, has been granted extension of service for one year expiring on the 31st of May, 1934.

Mr. J. C. Mitra, M.A., has been renominated by His Excellency the Chancellor as a Fellow of this University.

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BAGISWARI PROFESSOR OF FINE ARTS

It would be recalled that Mr. Sahid Suhrawardy was appointed Bagiswari Professor of Indian Fine Arts last year. He was placed on deputation for one year and was permitted to spend this period in Europe for further study and research. The period of deputation expired on 15th September, 1933. As the University classes closed for the Puja Vacation from 18th September, Professor Suhrawardy asked for permission to stay in Europe till the end of the vacation. This would not interfere with his studies in Calcutta and at the same time would enable him to complete his work in Europe. This permission has been granted by the Senate.

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CHANGES IN THE REGULATIONS

On the recommendation of the Faculty of Engineering the Senate has adopted certain changes in the Regulations for the I.E. and B.E. Examinations. These Regulations are being submitted to Government for sanction.

The Senate has also passed certain changes in the Regulations reducing the quorum for meetings of the Councils of Post-graduate Teaching in Arts and Science. Under the present Regulations, the quorum was fixed at one-third of the members in each case; it has now been reduced to 15. It may be noted that this is the same number fixed for Senate meetings also.

Another change recently approved by the Senate is with regard to the procedure for temporary appointments in the Post-graduate department. Under the present Regulations, it is not necessary to

appoint a Selection Committee for any temporary appointment. This has now been altered and under the new Regulations, a Selection Committee will have to be appointed with regard to every temporary appointment where the period exceeds one year.

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STUDENTS PROCEEDING ABROAD

The University has found it necessary in recent years to hold a Special Convocation in August for conferring degrees on those graduates who desire to proceed abroad for further studies. The necessity arose out of the fact that our degrees were previously conferred only at the annual Convocation held in March every year and students who desired to proceed to Europe immediately after graduation could not be supplied with their diplomas but were given provisional certificates. These certificates were not always acceptable to the authorities of some of the Universities in Europe who in the absence of the diplomas expressed doubts as to whether the students concerned were fully eligible for their respective degrees. Our Vice-Chancellor who is now in England discussed this matter with the Secretary of the Bureau of the Universities of the British Empire and also with Vice-Chancellors of several British Universities. We are now in a position to announce that it will not be necessary for us to hold any Special Convocation in future; a special certificate has been drawn up which will contain the necessary details and will be acceptable to the Universities in Great Britain; this will entitle the students to the usual privileges and exemptions. For this solution of a matter which gave rise to considerable practical inconvenience in the past, our thanks are mainly due to Sir Hassan Suhrawardy and the Secretary to the Bureau of the Universities of the British Empire.

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A NEW D. SC.

Mr. Sukumarchandra Sarkar, M.Sc., who passed his M.Sc. in 1925 has recently been awarded the degree of Doctor of Science. The principal subject of his thesis was *Investigations on the properties in the Raman Spectra*. The Board of Examiners consisted of four eminent scholars: Professor J. C. Mc. Lenan, D.Sc., F.R.S., Professor P. Pringshein, Professor Charles Fabry and Sir C. V. Raman, F.R.S., N.L. Dr. Sarkar has been serving as Research Assistant to the Palit Professor of Physics since January, 1927. We extend to him our cordial congratulations.

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ORISSA AND OUR UNIVERSITY.

The University has recently received a communication from the Secretary, Orissa Committee which has been constituted to enquire into and recommend on the administrative problems incidental to the creation of the Orissa Province. The Committee desired to know the views of the University on the question of affiliation of the Colleges in Orissa with Calcutta University, and also on the possibility of securing adequate representation of Orissa on the various University bodies, in the event of the proposal being ultimately accepted. The Syndicate appointed a Committee consisting of the Director of Public Instruction, Dr. W. S. Urquhart, Mr. C. C. Biswas and Mr. Syama-prasad Mookerjee, to consider the matter and submit a report. The Committee has reported that if Orissa desires to come within the jurisdiction of Calcutta University, the University should welcome her back. It has also been pointed out in the report that the same representation which has been given to our sister province, Assam, should also be extended to Orissa. It may be recalled in this connection that Oriya is a recognised vernacular for the different Examinations of our University; there are also special arrangements for its teaching in the Post-Graduate classes, mainly due to the munificence of the Maharaja of Sonapur. The report of the Committee has been adopted by the Syndicate and the Secretary, Orissa Committee has been informed accordingly.

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SUBJECTS FOR TAGORE LAW PROFESSORSHIP, 1935

The following subjects have been selected by the Faculty of Law for the Tagore Law Professorship for 1935:

- (1) *The History of Development of Moslem Law in British India*
- (2) *The Law of Arbitration with special reference to British India*
- (3) *The Law of Partnership with special reference to British India*

Advertisements are being published inviting applications from candidates for the Professorship. Applications are to reach the Registrar on or before 1st May, 1934. Each candidate is to forward with his application 100 copies of a brief synopsis of his proposed

lectures and if he so desires, the same number of copies of his Introductory Lecture.

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JAGATTARINI MEDALIST, 1933

On the recommendation of the Special Committee, the Syndicate has awarded the Jagattarini Medal for 1933 to Mr. Kedarnath Bando-padhyay for his contributions to Bengali Literature. Mr. Banerjee occupies a recognised position amongst writers of Bengali fiction and is particularly noted for his inimitable humorous style which he has made his own. We offer our congratulations to Mr. Banerjee on this well-deserved recognition of his life-long labours.

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ADHARCHANDRA MOOKERJEE LECTURER, 1933

Professor Meghnad Saha, D.Sc., F.R.S., has been appointed Adharchandra Mookerjee Lecturer for 1933, the subject of his lectures being *The Ultimate Constituents of Matter*. Dr. Saha is expected to deliver the lectures early in 1934. It is needless to add that this appointment will give satisfaction to one and all.

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GOVERNMENT CONFERENCE

Government have decided to hold a Conference in Calcutta in November, 1933, to consider the future lines of educational development in all its branches in Bengal. It is understood the proceedings will be opened by His Excellency the Chancellor. The following members have been nominated by the Syndicate to represent this University at the Conference:—

The Vice-Chancellor
Dr. U. N. Brahmachari
Dr. Bidhanchandra Roy
Mr. C. C. Biswas
Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee, and
Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee.

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UNIVERSITY STUDENTS' INFORMATION BUREAU

Professor P. N. Ghosh, Ghosh Professor of Applied Physics, has been re-appointed Secretary to the University Students' Information Bureau for the year 1933-34.

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GIRISCHANDRA GHOSH LECTURER

Mr. Kumudbandhu Sen whose articles dealing with the dramatic works of the late Girischandra Ghosh have won just appreciation, has been appointed Girischandra Ghosh Lecturer for 1933. The subject of his lectures will be *Girischandra, his Mind and Art*.

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LAW EXAMINATIONS

The results of the Law Examinations held in August, 1933, have just been announced. The percentage of passes at the Preliminary Law Examination is 57.5 as against 59.2 at the last Examination. At the Intermediate Law Examination the percentage of passes is 61 as against 88.2 at the last Examination and at the Final Examination the percentage is 40.9 as against 63.6 at the last examination.

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GOVERNMENT SERVANTS AND UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS

In September, 1932, certain changes were introduced in the Fundamental and Subsidiary rules of Government, recognising absence of Government servants due to conduct of University Examinations in practical subjects only as absence on duty. Government were not prepared to grant the same facility to those of their officers who were appointed University Examiners in non-practical subjects. The matter was brought to the notice of the University a few months ago and the Syndicate addressed a letter to Government pointing out the undesirability of making any distinction as proposed in the rules. We are glad to record that Government have now agreed to modify the rules and to treat all Government servants as absentees on duty while attending meetings in connection with the examinations,—no matter what the nature of the subject is. Government will not however permit such officers to draw any travelling allowance from the provincial revenues for attending such meetings.

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CONTROLLER OF EXAMINATIONS

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Rai Narendranath Sen, Bahadur, M.A., has taken leave for two months and three days with effect from 21st October, 1933, and Dr. Binodbehari Dutt, M.A., B.L., PH.D., Assistant Controller, has been appointed to officiate as Controller of Examinations during the period in addition to his own duties.

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PROGRESS OF RESEARCHES

Department of History

A history of the Maratha Navy has long been a desideratum. Stray articles on the subject have appeared from time to time but as materials for an exhaustive account are not available in any one archive or any one language, no systematic treatise has hitherto been attempted. A fairly satisfactory survey, however, was made by Prof. Surendranath Sen in his *Military system of the Marathas*. He is now engaged on a *History of the Maratha Maritime Activities*. The work will be based on published and unpublished Marathi, English, Portuguese, French and Dutch sources.

Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri is continuing his investigations in the political history of Ancient India. He is a recognised authority on the subject. During the past few months he has published three papers on (1) *The successors of Kumaragupta-I*, (2) *Some Problems of Pre-Buddhistic History and Chronology* and (3) *The Kardamaka Kings*.

Mr. Indubhushan Banerji is engaged on an equally interesting subject. His *Evolution of the Khalsa* is expected to remove a long-felt need and to throw new light on the history of the Sikhs which forms one of the special subjects in our History curriculum.

Mr. Narendrakrishna Sinha has just completed his monograph on *Ranjit Singh*, which will be published before long. It is expected to supersede all previous publications on the subject. Dr. Amarprasad Dasgupta is now engaged on a critical examination of the *Macartney Papers at the Satara Museum*. He has already published a few papers on the subject. Dr. Narayanchandra Banerji proposes to complete his second volume of *Economic Life and Progress in Ancient India* and the concluding volume of *Hindu Polity and Political Theories*. The previous volumes of these two works have been hailed as notable advances on our previous knowledge of the subject. Dr. Banerji also expects to publish a short treatise on *Hindu Economic Thought*.

Department of Applied Mathematics

The staff and the Research students of the Department of Applied Mathematics are engaged in research work in several different subjects. The Ghose Professor with his student Mr. N. K. Chatterjee is at present working the Theory of the Expanding Universe and the problem of the Equilibrium of compressible and incompressible gaseous spheres, which is closely related to the modern theory of Stellar structure. Some of their results have been published in the *Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society*, the *Indian Physico-Mathematical Journal*, *Proceedings of the Royal Society of London*, and one is shortly coming out in the *Zeitschrift für Astrophysik*. Mr. Sisirendu Gupta, Premchand Roychand Student, till lately Ghose Research Scholar of this Department, is working in Wave Mechanics connected with the modern atomic theory; the results of his investigation have been embodied in several papers published in the *Zeitschrift für Physik*.

Dr. Siteschandra Kar is at present working on the application of Group theory to Quantum Mechanics and his latest paper on the subject was published quite recently in the *Zeitschrift für Physik*. Dr. Panchanan Das works on the theory of Vibration and on Wave Mechanics, *Indian Physico-Mathematical Journal*. Dr. Bratisankar Roy is also interested in Quantum mechanical problems and has published a paper on toplike motion in *Zeitschrift für Physik*. Dr. Jyotirmay Ghosh works on the theory of Relativity and has published papers on the equilibrium of spheres in several Journals. Dr. Ghosh edits the *Indian Physico-Mathematical Journal*.

Besides modern theoretical Physics, Mechanics is also studied and worked on by some members of the staff. Dr. Suddhodhan Ghosh studies hydrodynamical problems and also problems connected with the theory of Elasticity. His latest contribution to the elastic theory has been published in a paper in *Zeitschrift für angewandte Mathematik und Mechanik*. Mr. Bibhutibhushan Sen works on the elastic theory. One paper on the subject has been published in the *Philosophical Magazine* and the other will come out shortly in the *Zeitschrift für angewandte Mathematik und Mechanik*. Dr. Nripendranath Sen has published papers on the theory of vortex motion in fluids in the *Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society*. Manohar Ray, the junior Ghose Scholar of the department is studying some hydrodynamical problems regarding resistance to the motion of cylindrical bodies in viscous liquid.

Department of Anthropology

At present three lines of investigation are being conducted in this Department, (i) a study of the primitive tribes to be found in hundreds in Chota Nagpur and Assam who are fast disappearing, (ii) ethnic enquiries into the composition of the castes in Bengal, (iii) and Medico-Anthropological investigations into growth problems. Year before last we turned our attention to Assam and began with the tribes of Manipur. Mr. T. C. Das studied the *Chirus* which he followed up by a study of *Purums*.

Prof. Clark Wissler of the American Museum of Natural History kindly came forward with financial help of Rs. 1,760 for a research student to work amongst Assam and Burma tribes and to send him some measurements and ethnographic specimens. This enabled Mr. J. K. Bose, who was awarded the research stipend to proceed with the study of the *Aimol Kukis* for which his memoir is ready and also to investigate the matrilineal *Garos* tribes besides some other minor groups in the locality. In other areas tribal investigation is being carried on by some of our ex-students at great personal expense and inconvenience notably by Mr. Prafullachandra Biswas amongst the *Santhals* and neighbouring tribes. Mr. Nareshchandra Sen has taken up the study of *Koches*. Mr. Sorabjit Singh who helped us considerably in our Manipur studies has prepared a paper on *Meithei habitations*. Mr. J. K. Gan has published a very interesting paper on *Cultural Affinities between India and Africa* in *Man in India*, following the studies of cultural affinities of India and Polynesia by Dr. P. Mitra. The anthropometric studies of Mr. T. C. Raichoudhury amongst the Brahmins of Bengal are well-nigh complete; he also contributed a paper on ^{The Anthropometrical study on} ~~Khasis measurements~~ in the Science Congress. The studies of Dr. A. N. Chatterjee, specially his analysis of about ten thousand cases of giving us the rate of growth of the Bengali students and corroborating the stature distribution of physical types in this province have been widely appreciated by all.

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OUR FRONTISPIECE

The subject-matter of the *frontispiece* of this issue relates to a lore familiar in Bengal. It depicts the wreck-scene of one of Chand-sadagar's boats on the high seas. In Chand-sadagar Bengal found her merchant-hero who crossed the seas with loads of merchandise

and brought back riches in silver and gold that flowed in bounty over the country. Bengal had in those days a considerable shipping and maritime activity which is so faithfully reflected in the tragically romantic story of Chand the merchant-prince and his son and daughter-in-law, Lakhindar and Behula.

The artist of the picture is Mr. Dhirendrakrishna Dev Barman, one of those four young talented Bengalee artists who were commissioned to decorate the India House, London. The picture is his latest production, and shows his artistic ability and skill at a very high level. It has suffered considerably in reproduction, yet it shows admirably well the artist's originality of composition, his sense of colour combination, gift for conception, but more than these his capacity to harmonise a decorative treatment of accessories with an almost realistic presentation of a lively subject-matter.



Born 1st Oct., 1847]

ANNIE BESANT

[Died 20th Sept., 1933

CALCUTTA
Sec. No.
Book No.
1125

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

PUBLISHED BY CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY



ANNIE BESANT : AN INTERPRETATION

By JAMES H. COUSINS, D.LIT.

Madanapalle, Madras.

WHEN I was saying goodbye to Dr. Annie Besant, on my departure in 1919 for a year's work or more in a Japanese University (by permission of the National University of India of which she was the presiding genius) I put the question to her, with the quizzicality that was our usual approach, as Irish to Irish: "What about that thing called Theosophy?" She thought for a moment, then said: "That thing called Theosophy is all right—in its own place—which is all over the place."

This did not seem to get us (or at any rate, me) anywhere in particular. But taking advantage of the traditional privilege of the Irish to answer a question by asking another, she asked: "What are you going to Japan as?" (Strong emphasis on *as*.)

"Special Professor of Modern English Poetry in the Keiogijuku....."

("Spell it," she broke in. I spelt it.)

".....Keiogijuku University, Tokyo," I finished.

“ Then ” (no quizzicality now, but deep seriousness) “ be the best Professor of Modern English Poetry they have ever had—and that will be as much Theosophy as you need bother about.” (Pause, ...a tricky smile.) “ Of course if anybody asks you if you know anything about that thing called Theosophy” (pause) “ you needn’t say you don’t.”

Some months later, when I had found my place in “ Keio,” and an unanticipated series of public lectures was drawing a weekly crowd from other Universities, Colleges and Schools (and a few foreigners including a schoolmate of Ralph Waldo Emerson), I was asked by the University authorities to let them have some printed matter concerning the educational principles that I had begun to be suspected of holding. I handed them a small packet of booklets. A few days later they were returned with appreciation, and the remark: “ The pamphlet entitled *Principles of Education* by Mrs. Annie Besant is one of the most important documents we have ever seen on the subject.”

The connection between these two incidents may not be obvious ; but they emerge out of my memory as examples of life-experiences out of which I learned to look on “ A.B.” as an individual as far removed in magnitude and quality from the significance of the symbols that she took pleasure in wearing, as life is beyond biology, and a handful of earth beyond a shelf of geological text-books. I have heard her speak of herself as having taken some action “as a Theosophist.” But her action was not, as I came to realize, a cold-objective adaptation of her abnormal share of the Universal Life to a fixed conception of that Life or a clamped code of personal conduct: it was the spontaneous expression of her own purified, simplified, intense nature. She was not the victim of any system of thought or organization of action, obvious or occult, though she used systems for the intelligible utterance of thought and organization for the effective fulfilment of action. She was the creator of her own Truth. And as her creation of her Truth was progressive—and birth (or rebirth) had planted in her nature a hunger for understanding, for the fulfilment of understanding in action, and for both the contagious and infectious spreading of intelligent action—she moved out of the pinched circle of traditional religious sentimentality of her girlhood into what to her was the larger circle of the rationalist conception of life and the socialist technique of life. But the larger circle soon grew as cramped as the first. She discovered the imperfect rationality of a rationalism that relied only on logic based on

incomplete premises, and the ultimate unsociability of that class-conscious socialism. Thence, *via* W.T. Stead and a book review, she moved to Theosophy, which she discovered to be not a circle, but a sphere in which, like the Spirits of Human Thought of her beloved Shelley, she could

.....dive, or soar, or run,
Beyond, and around,
Or within the bound
Which clips the world with darkness round ;

and from whose surface she could make the levitation of imagination when not engaged in registering (in a code of thought and speech whose natural limitations she heartily recognized) the Cosmic communications whose physical aspects are now being weighed and measured by Millikan of California and other scientists.

It was this search for reality that was behind her advice to me to fulfil my professional *dharma* (duty) *quâ* professional *dharma*—not as an *ist* ; and behind her exposition of education that was found to excel *quâ* educational exposition—not as an *ism*. It was this intense, sometimes ruthless, sometimes mysterious quest, which is the source of the vast humanity of the great, that moved her to attribute this and that act of hers, at one time to her Theosophy, at another to her Socialism ; and thus to invest her utterances and actions in the eyes of the uncritical among her followers with an artificial rather than a real significance ; and to obscure her own vast originality in the eyes of the world, and draw on herself from the unobservant among those who were not her followers the false imputation of emotional fickleness and intellectual shallowness. It was in reality her privilege as a spiritual creator (which it would not have been as an intellectual formulator) to share the apparent inconsistency of developing life : to fight sturdily for responsibility based on free-will—and to declare that there is only one Will in the Universe, the Will of *Iswara* the Omnipotent.

II

I think, therefore, of the name of Annie Beasant as connoting to the celebrants of her first natal centenary (in 1947, which I hope to attend) the Great Realist of our time. But the title, in order to fit her, will have to extend its significance. She has put her quest for Reality into her self-written epitaph : “ She tried to follow Truth ; ” and in that phrase has put upon those whose lives

touched hers the duty of interpretation for the better understanding of her life by the future.

To Annie Besant, the Reality, or Truth, that she tried to follow was not to be envisaged in a mental conception or expressed in a phrase or even in a philosophy. Truth, to her, was not an achievement but a direction ; not something to be held but to be aspired towards, that puts " a yonder to all ends." ¹ Her strong mentality, reinforced by her remarkable memory and virile alertness, made her a power in dialectic. Yet, while she could be dogmatic, she was not a natural dogmatist. To be merely dogmatic, which is the privilege of enthusiasm, is to express conviction with an earnestness that lifts its language to the height of poetry and symbolism, and speaks with a temporary absoluteness and finality of purely relative and transient matters ; but to be a true dogmatist is to assert the exclusive sufficiency of one's personal or traditional authority ; to make the validity of alleged Truth depend on its utterer, instead of the utterance to depend on its realizable or demonstrable Truth. Annie Besant " tried to follow Truth " : she did not try to make Truth follow her. And this is all the more remarkable in view of the fact that she had struggled out of an unsatisfactory faith through the exercise of a highly critical mentality, and might reasonably have been expected to rest in the logical certainties of agnostic uncertainty. There is a tendency for doubt to become even more intolerantly certain than faith ; to begin merely inquisitively and to end inquisitorially. But Annie Besant never succeeded in being a pontiff : she remained a tireless pilgrim ; and if her path had taken her to the frontier of Theosophy, she would have passed beyond it. I have heard her warn an English audience, to whom her previous " teachings " on Karma were oracular, to be ready to alter their ideas of the workings of that law of life, on the simple, sane ground that nobody knew everything, and that some disclosure of reality in the future might change the whole idea of cause and effect. At a meeting of new graduates which I was addressing in Madras, and over which she was presiding, I felt it necessary to impress on the audience the need for spiritual self-dependence. " If you think I am on this platform," I said, " because I agree with Mrs. Besant, you are mistaken. I am here because she agrees with me." She nodded her head in emphatic approval, and in her concluding remarks dwelt on the fact that the only true agreement between people was that of affinity of ideals, in

the pursuit of which differences of temperamental method would not lead to drastic divisions.

In incidents like these one realized the quality of speed that was ready to assert itself at a suitable juncture in the mental process of "A. B.". In her published expositions—that make her perhaps the world's prolific author—she moves in long and somewhat slow wavelengths, with verbal simplicity and little of ornament or literary style. But in conversation or platform improvization she could forge a phrase that cut through non-essentials to the core of the matter. In the headquarters hall of the Theosophical Society at Adyar, she had permitted me in 1921 to have a bust of Rabindranath Tagore installed to balance a bust of Giordano Bruno. A member of the Theosophical Society drew her attention to the fact that Tagore was not a member of the Society—with the implication that he had no *locus standi* as a work of art. "Neither is Bruno," said "A. B." Only that—but it was sufficient. Her sense of reality annihilated the sentiment that had justified the presence of Bruno as an assumed previous embodiment of her own ego. Her smile made the rebuke to narrow inconsistency seem a jest. At a Convention of the European Sections of the Theosophical Society in Geneva in 1930, an emissary from another Society using the same name was sent with an offer of unification. Many of the 500 delegates, I among them, suspected the intention of the move of rapprochement. At the opening meeting of the Convention, Dr. Besant, as President, invited the plenipotentiary to the platform, although the meeting was for members only, set him on her right hand, and allowed him to state his mission. She followed with a short speech in which she accepted the broad principle of federation. She made no argument or conditions. She threw her whole reaction into the phrase—"You cannot call yourself a Theosophist if you say: 'I believe in brotherhood' (then with a stage 'aside')—except with other Theosophists." Again her finger pointed humorously at inconsistency. And sometimes her humour (which has never been sufficiently recognized) was wholly humorous. During my nine months on the editorial staff of *New India* (1915-1916) she called me frequently to her desk to talk over some problem or idea. On one occasion she asked me where it was that Luther had thrown his ink-pot at the Devil. "At the Diet of Worms," I answered, with unintentional inaccuracy. She pondered my information for a moment, solemnly ejaculated: "Funny diet!" and went on with her writing. In her leading article that afternoon Luther turned up all right; but there was no mention of the "funny diet," and I got ac

uneasy feeling that I had fallen down a crevasse in her estimation of my knowledge of history.

III

To pass on to the future the idea that Annie Besant was all head and heart would be to deny her title of the Great Realist. It would also obscure the fact that to certain of her contemporaries she appeared as a person swayed by emotion, and not always in what they, in their wisdom, regarded as the right direction. Those of us who had the privilege of camping on the ambit of her life were, at times in the early days of her political campaign, fascinated by the spectacles of her amazing quietness in the midst of swirling emotions that she had herself created. In her immediate company one was in the calm at the centre of a cyclone; but to move away from her one had to cross one or other segment of a circle of storm. This did not mean that she herself was emotionless; or, on the other hand, that she was, as those emotionally influenced by her sometimes concluded, a sharer in the emotions that she stirred up. Just as her thought ranged from cold logic to radiant illumination, so did her feeling range from sympathy with the suffering and the oppressed in all the kingdoms of nature, to the intensity of receptive responsiveness in which the eternal broadcast of Reality is felt rather than cognized. In both phases of her nature she was the master of her powers. Her long and rigorous self-discipline (*yoga*) had, as it seemed to me, removed itself from a fixed time and place in her life to every moment everywhere: beneath each ripple on the surface of her life one felt the presence of oceanic calm.

In other terms, "A.B." had achieved synthesis in her nature. Thought, feeling and action had become simultaneous with her, to the enrichment and strengthening of each. This I believe, is the secret of her remarkable creative power and sagacity, which some have taken to be a gift of necromancy and prognostication. I can recall sentences of hers that became institutions. At the end of a lecture in Adyar, leaning with one hand on my shoulder as I bent down to place her little sandals in position for her to put them on, she said: "We ought to have an art section in the Nineteen-twentyone Club." She had founded the Club in Madras as a meeting-place for free political discussion on the inauguration of the "Reforms," but was not satisfied with its being merely politically minded. The art section was duly instituted. At another meeting she expressed a wish whose

fulfilment was the Brahmavidya Asrama at Adyar that worked for six years and developed a view of knowledge and experience and a technique of study and life which have only begun their beneficent mission. She not only initiated synthetical movements embodying her own completeness, but responded with intuitive alacrity to similar movements initiated by others. The invitation to deliver the first Kamala Lectures of the University of Calcutta in 1924 on "Indian Ideals of Education, Philosophy, Religion and Arts" was intensely to her liking because of its synthetical scope. Her preparation for it was carried out with a thoroughness and concentration that, in other circumstances, would have made her one of the world's greatest advocates. It was my privilege and happiness to collect for her the materials for the art-section of the lecture in order that she might have direct knowledge of authorities on an aspect of India's cultural life whose importance she had intuitively recognized, and to whose qualities she had already responded in the exhibitions of Indian painting which she delighted to have as a part of the Conventions of the Theosophical Society—in Adyar, in Benares, in Bombay, in Geneva, in Chicago. As organizer of these exhibitions I have been deeply moved when she, in the midst of multitudinous demands on her, would herself make demands on other, and, at some five minutes of respite, bring persons of importance to see the æsthetical and spiritual demonstration of India's real quality that needs no argument.

IV

Yes, Annie Besant "tried to follow Truth," and in doing so learned the full meaning of Keats' assertion that "Beauty is Truth"—which is singing in the breath that Truth is Beauty; that Beauty and Truth are merely objectively different expressions of one subjective realization of the vast universal pull towards unification that in our time is so radically threatening the false separations in life which the preliminary egotism of humanity has endeavoured to justify in religious and other sanctities. But "A.B." went a stage further than the poet on the way towards full individual embodiment of Reality, in her insistence on the life-test of thought and feeling. "You cannot say that you possess a truth until you have tested it in action," she once wrote. And the test of thought or feeling in action was, to her, the test of its unifying influence. All separations were, in her view, false. But there was also the possibility of a false unity, a merely mechanical surface unity

which is in contrariety to the obvious delight of life in variety of expression. She repudiated the exclusive claims of Christianity; but she became an apostle of the universality of the love and self-surrender expressed in the life and utterances of Jesus the Christ. She realized that no sacerdotal unit can ever become a spiritual unity. She resented spiritual compulsion save from within. Her technique of life was free association. This implied as free dissociation; and this principle worked itself into both her religious and political activities—in her claim for religious freedom in observance and unity in spiritual aspiration, and her assertion of the right of India to complete self-determination as the basis of a voluntary union with the British Commonwealth which external compulsion prevented.

In a world in which action is confused through ignorance or selfishness, the line of a life drawn directly towards Reality was bound to cross the zig-zags of others in impacts of affinity or antagonism. To both affinity and antagonism she attached the same value, the value of their contribution to her quest—a quest whose line, while onwards in direction was adaptable to immediate circumstances. She realized with the unknown fourteenth century English mystic that “not what thou art, nor what thou hast been, beholdeth God with His merciful eyes; but what thou wouldest be,”† and this implies a progressive elevation of life. The graph of her life was therefore not only onwards but upwards; and ascension, which requires the discarding of impedimenta, in her case took even the commonplace, though not too common, form of selling her possessions in order to fulfil what she considered her moral, if not legal, obligations to students and others.

“Give, and it shall be given unto you”—or perhaps shall *not* be given unto you; but at least you will have what you have given; not in material kind, but in spiritual equivalent. This was, I believe, the rule of her incalculable beneficences. And she died—leaving little in the way of worldly wealth, but leaving to posterity a treasury of spiritual opulence; died, not as rich by making or keeping many poor, but “as poor, yet making many rich.”

† *The Cloud of Unknowing.*

DR. ANNIE BESANT:

THE GREAT HUMANITARIAN

By C. F. ANDREWS

IN this article, I would wish to dwell upon the one aspect of Dr. Annie Besant's life with which I was most intimately concerned.

As a champion of the oppressed and poor I have not known anyone so fearlessly outspoken and bravely successful in her efforts as Mrs. Besant. Whenever the oppression of the poor was brought before her in a way which touched her heart she was like a mother defending her own children from some violent wrong.

The time when I first gained the sight of her character in action was in the year 1913 when Willie Pearson and I visited Madras on our way to South Africa in order to help the indentured Indian labourers in their struggle against the £3 poll-tax which was being forcibly levied from them in Natal. The whole system of indentured labour was an abomination and a curse. Therefore when we had explained the whole matter to her and shown how hateful the wrong was that was being done to thousands of poor people, her heart was won in a moment. From that time forward, she never ceased in her strenuous endeavours to bring the intolerable indenture system of Indian labour to an end, not merely in Natal itself, but also in every colony within the British Empire where it was still being carried on. She summoned all her friends in Madras to a meeting and explained to them the evils of the system as I had previously recounted them to her. I can remember even up to the present time how her eyes burnt with fire as she spoke on the hateful wrong which was being done to Indian women whereby some of them had even been forced to sell their bodies in prostitution.

When later on, I had returned from South Africa the same great cause of the indentured Indian labourers absorbed her whole attention. She was the magnificent organiser of the '*Anti-indenture League*' which had its branches and offices in every centre of South India. The whole country was aflame, being inspired by her wonderful speeches as she went on tour not only in the great cities in South India but also in the villages.

This campaign against indenture had an important place in Indian history. For perhaps more than anything else it awakened the conscience of the Indian Government to an impossible state of affairs whereby women, recruited for the most part by fraud, were sent out in emigrant ships to distant colonies such as Fiji and British Guiana and Natal to endure a life of misery and shame under unspeakably immoral conditions.

The anti-indenture campaign which Mrs. Besant originated led also to extremely interesting political results. For it was out of the experience gained in that campaign that she was able to organise in 1916-17 her great *Home-Rule League* during the War. This *Home-Rule League movement* was probably the original cause of still greater movements which came in later years and indeed of the Non-co-operation movement in 1920. Though she did not share in that movement itself, her heart was strongly stirred towards Indian freedom and her books popularised the cause of Indian Swaraj in the West more than any others that were written at that time.

One other cause was infinitely dear to the heart of Dr. Annie Besant. The uplift of the *Harijans* was a lifelong effort on her part and she spent all the funds and energy which were at her disposal in this work of uplift. Before the *Harijan* movement became a national endeavour under Mahatma Gandhi, the Theosophical Society through Dr. Annie Besant had devoted itself to this work. The society under her leadership confined its actions mainly to education and a marvellous encouragement was given to the depressed classes by means of a series of schools staffed by excellent teachers, wherein the *Harijans* could obtain the very best education possible such as would enable them to become worthy members of society. In the great awakening which is visible on every hand today, owing to the inspiring personality of Mahatma Gandhi, we must not forget this foundation work which Mrs. Besant began quite early after her coming to India nearly 50 years ago.

In conclusion, let me sketch in a very brief outline some of the characteristics which I personally noticed in Dr. Annie Besant on the frequent occasions when I worked with her in the cause of social uplift and on behalf of the oppressed poor. First of all, her voice and even her manners were masculine in their force and strength, and the manly side of human nature was very evident in her. Yet this in no way weakened the true Woman in her, in its tenderness and emotion for, as I have already said, she was like a mother defending her own children when any wrong was done to the poor and oppressed people.

Secondly her amazing industry and power of work attracted my own attention. I have seen her in a railway carriage get through the heaviest work which would have taken an ordinary person more than a day to carry through in an office. The sternest sense of duty kept this force in her at its utmost tension even in times of physical weakness and in this way she was able to show, in an amazing manner, how the spirit within could conquer the impurities of the human frame. She dominated her own nature by her inner spiritual force.

Thirdly, she was always very human, intensely alive to the cry of the poor and oppressed upon the earth. Suffering came to her more than to almost any woman in her own generation—suffering often entirely undeserved and cruelly brutal. Yet she kept her sweetness and love, true and deep, to the very end and she received unbounded love in return from those who were devoted to her. She leaves behind her a name for courage and wisdom and high faith which will not be forgotten.

Santi-niketan.

THE LATE MRS. KAMINI RAY

By DR. RABINDRANATH TAGORE

[Mrs. Kamini Ray (née Sen), the distinguished Bengali poetess, passed away at her residence at 42 A, Hazra Road, Calcutta, on the 27th September at the age of 69. She had a short attack of pneumonia.

Kamini Sen was born at Basanda in Backergunj on October 12, 1864. Her father Chandicharan Sen was a man of unusual strength of character. He was a daring thinker, spirited and liberal, and his example had a great formative influence in the life of the poet. Poetry came to Miss Sen very early, and she wrote some verses at the age of eight. She continued writing poetry, and became famous by publishing her first collection of poems under the title of *Alo-o-Chhaya* (Light and Shade) in 1889. With its publication she at once took her place among the best literary artists of Bengal. Earlier, in 1886, Miss Sen had graduated at Calcutta University with Second Class Honours in Sanskrit. The same year she accepted the post of a teacher in the School department of Bethune College, Later she was promoted to be a Lecturer in the College. In August, 1894, she married Mr. K. N. Ray of the Statutory Civil Service, but became a widow fifteen years later in 1909. She had a series of sorrows in life, but those she turned into art; a sweet sadness pervaded through her work. The Calcutta University honoured her by awarding her the Jagattarini Gold Medal in 1929.

It was not, however, by her poetry alone that Mrs. Ray achieved distinction. Her work for the political and civil enfranchisement of the Bengali woman and the amelioration of the conditions under which women labourers worked in the fields and factories, will be gratefully remembered by her sisters in Bengal,]

ONE day when we were young the fame of Kamini Ray (née Sen) as a poet flashed across the horizon of Bengali literature with a suddenness and intensity. At that time the poets in Bengal who could claim recognition were few in number and critics were scarce. The standard of excellence in metre and diction did not reach that general level which could make the poetic technique comparatively easy of attainment. Our poetess travelled almost alone on her path of literary production in an undisturbed serenity of creative mood. The ideals of life which inspired her belonged to the dawn of a new era in Bengal when the atmosphere was pure and the light unstained, when the aspiration of our youth was for high moral altitude and dedication to great causes. Kamini Ray in her own simple manner and womanly faith gave voice to that age which in the freshness of its mind had the vision of a freedom that would rescue her country from the darkness of unreason and social obstructions to the path of progress. She found ready response in the minds of her contemporary readers who had not yet grown critically supercilious and cynical in their cultivated scepticism. Her power of expression matured as she grew older but up to the end she expressed in her works her young faith and unsophisticated spirit of devotion to moral ideals.



Born Oct., 12, 1864]

KAMINI RAY

[Died, Sept., 27, 1933

THE WORLD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE : AN INDIAN VIEW

By SIR P. S. SIVASWAMY AIYER, KT.

THE World Economic Conference to which the nations of the world had been looking forward for the discovery of satisfactory remedies for the present economic crisis has met and has broken up. Though some of the statesmen who took part in the conference are unwilling to admit that it has been completely barren of results, there can be no doubt that the general feeling is that the conference has been a failure. The high expectations that had been formed before the meeting of the conference were necessarily doomed to disappointment. Every nation that took part in the conference primarily and naturally approached the problem from the point of view of its own special interests and there was necessarily bound to be a wide divergence of views in regard to the measures to be adopted for the restoration of prosperity. The remedies for any permanent solution of our economic ills must be based upon a correct diagnosis of the causes which have led to our troubles and a recognition of the legitimate aspirations of the different countries of the world. Even as to the causes of the economic depression there have been great differences of opinion among statesmen and economists. While some are disposed to attribute them to the background of the currency and credit systems of the world and to the financial embarrassments bequeathed by the Great War, there are others who ascribe them to the commercial policies adopted by different nations in regard to tariffs with the object of securing a favourable balance of trade or the promotion of industries. Some advocate the stabilisation of the level of internal wholesale prices and others have emphasised the importance of stability of exchange. There are others again who take the view that the deeper underlying causes of the depression must be sought in the maladjustment between production and distribution and between production and purchasing power. The principle of national self-sufficiency has been vehemently denounced as destructive of the trade and prosperity of the world. Yet another view which has been strongly advocated is that the chaotic financial and economic condition of the world can be rectified only by systematic planning, international

co-operation and international organisation. Each of these views contains a large amount of truth, but none of them can claim to offer a complete explanation or remedy. As pointed out by several economists, the crisis is a crisis of plenty. The evils of maladjustment of industries and production have been aggravated by financial disorganisation. One of the most illuminating discussions of the problem is to be found in the symposium of Sir Arthur Salter and others in the Halley Stewart Lectures for 1931. Economists and statesmen have drawn a distinction between the immediate objective and the ultimate objective to be aimed at by those who wish to cure our ills. Sir William Beveridge takes the view that the crisis is essentially monetary. While the immediate problem may be admitted to be of a monetary and financial character, there is far more truth in the view that the underlying problem is, as pointed out by Prof. Clay, the misdirection of the world's industry. A concerted policy of controlled reflation, the cancellation of reparations and war debts and the other remedies advocated by Sir Arthur Salter will do much for the revival of trade and prosperity. But they cannot provide a permanent solution. Cycles of boom and depression were characteristic of trade even before the war and they are bound to recur in the future in a much severer form owing to the greater productiveness of machinery and what has been called technocracy and the international competition for markets. The tendency of industrial organisations towards amalgamation and large-scale production will not necessarily remove the maladjustment between production and purchasing power. The same waste of productive energy and the same misdirection of industry that form unavoidable features of an uncontrolled system of capitalism and *laissez-faire* in individual states are bound to appear in the international competition for world markets. The only possible escape from these maladjustments is by some form of international organisation which would adopt the world as a unit. Here we come face to face with issues of a most momentous character. The ideal of the international organisation of the world may be desirable in the distant future. But it is not merely impracticable, but is full of dangerous possibilities for the development and welfare of the continents or countries which are now industrially backward.

Let me refer to a few of the risks which attend any scheme of international organisation. The planning of production, whether in the field of raw materials or of manufacturing industries, necessarily involves a limitation of the supplies to be produced. Within the limits of any one country such planning is useful and desirable and

though it may involve an interference with individual liberty, would be, on the whole, an advantage to the people of the country. But if the planning is to be applied internationally, upon what principle is the limitation of production to be fixed ? Is the allotment of quotas for each country to be based upon the existing level of production or with reference to the potentialities of the different countries in human and natural resources ? So far as the European nations are concerned, they would probably prefer a scheme under which the other continents would confine themselves to the production of raw materials, leaving the whole field of manufacturing industries to Europe. They would probably make an exception in favour of America which has made such great advances in the industrial sphere, especially during the twentieth century. Will the other countries of the world be content to play the rôle of producers of raw materials only ? Even the Dominions of Australia, Canada and South Africa with their limited populations and vast territories are anxious to develop their own industrial life. Will India and China with their teeming populations and enormous natural resources be content to play for all time the part of producers of raw materials for the benefit of the Western nations ? In the interests of a diversified and balanced economic and social life Asiatic countries are bound to develop their own resources and promote the growth of industries within their own borders. The people of these countries are not lacking in natural intelligence or aptitude for industrial life and it is only the earlier application of scientific invention and processes that has given a long start to Western countries. It is no longer possible to confine a knowledge of manufacturing processes to any one country. The desire for industrial advancement has taken root in the minds of Asiatic nations as the result of the pressure of economic conditions and the re-awakening of national life. India and China are now the largest markets in the world for the manufactures of Europe and they cannot be expected to remain so for all time. On what principle is it to be laid down that India or China shall confine itself to agriculture or to particular industries, or that the output of its industries shall be limited to a certain figure ? Would it be fair or feasible to lay down that Asiatic countries shall not produce more than is required for their home consumption or even all that is required for meeting their internal demands ? Even if Asiatic countries were to limit their production to the satisfaction of their own wants, there must necessarily be a re-direction of industry in the West. The principle of self-sufficiency, if adopted by each nation, would necessarily lead to the disappearance of all trade except in articles

which cannot be produced at home at all, or except under excessively costly conditions. According to the arguments of the orthodox economists, international trade is based upon the recognition of the differential advantages of countries for the production of particular commodities and there is no doubt that from the point of view of material gain, an economic system based upon this principle will add to the material welfare of the world. Apart from the fact that the addition of material wealth is not the sole element to be considered, how are we to ascertain the differential advantages of countries without giving them opportunities for finding themselves? The present state of industrial development in any country affords no certain indication as to its possibilities of expansion. Any attempt to fix rigid artificial limits to industrial growth, especially in countries which have not yet been developed, must necessarily be resisted. By way of illustration of my remarks, let me refer to the scheme for the re-organisation of sugar production which has been submitted to the World Economic Conference. It recommends, among other things, that countries which have large sugar imports should stabilise their home production at the present level in order to prevent reduction of imports and that countries producing almost enough for their own consumption should undertake not to expand their production beyond their home markets for export. That nations should, if possible, avoid doing anything which would cause a sudden dislocation of the industries of their neighbours may be conceded. But is it right or fair that India, for instance, should continue for all time to import the quantity of sugar which she is now importing from Java and should not endeavour to supply her own home markets? We do not deny that the competition of industrial nations in the markets of the world may assume a ruinous character and that it may be desirable to adopt some system of quotas for the division of the available markets. But such arrangements should only be of a temporary character and should be revised from time to time with reference to the capacities and needs of the countries. The argument that any country has to depend upon her foreign trade more largely than others owing to its high standard of living cannot be expected to impress other countries which also wish to raise their standard of living. The question which country or countries should devote themselves to particular industries is one which it is not possible to answer, unless they have had the fullest opportunity in the future of discovering their resources and aptitudes.

There is only one other matter to which I should like to refer in connection with the proposals which have been discussed in the

World Economic Conference. Every country which participated in the conference expressed its desire for the removal of the barriers of trade created by high tariffs. But there is no sign that, except Britain and a few other countries, others are willing to reduce the level of their own tariffs. So far as India is concerned, she must continue her policy of discriminating protection which she has been pursuing during the last few years. Even Britain is unwilling to abandon the protection afforded by tariffs against the invasion of her markets by Japan. As pointed out by Sir Arthur Salter, "A tariff to compensate for differences in wage level or in cost of production is mere nonsense. Countries differ in natural advantages, in the scale of industry of their peoples and in the efficiency of their organisation. Of these varying advantages differences in wages and in the standard of living and general level of prosperity are the natural reflection and consequence. Without such differences trade could not take place ; counteract them and it will stop. A so-called scientific tariff usually means one which is based on the principle of compensating for differences in cost of production. This either represents a mere fallacy or it is a policy destructive of international trade." The doctrine of unrestricted free trade has now been abandoned by almost all nations of the world and every country regulates its tariffs so as to promote its own industrial advancement and facilities for trade. No country has been so foolish as to carry its worship of the doctrine of free trade to the extent of sacrificing any of its own industries or advantages.

It must not be understood from my remarks that I am opposed to the expediency of gradually reducing tariffs and removing the restrictions on the commercial intercourse of the world or to a system of planning production and distribution. But all such attempts at planning must first begin within individual countries before we can venture to apply the policy to the world as a unit with any hope of success. Economists are now settling down to the conviction that the problem of the future is to reconcile the spirit of initiative and enterprise under the capitalist system with the control and collective leadership required to avoid the waste of human energy and capital and the periodic cycles of inflation and depression of trade. Such cycles cannot be completely prevented without a world organisation and industry. But the goal is at present utopian.

THE STRENGTH AND LIMITATIONS OF ECONOMIC JAPAN *vis-a'-vis* YOUNG BENGAL

By BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

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Japanese Dumping and Retaliation.

DURING the first period of the Swadeshi movement (1905) Young Bengal used to derive great inspiration from the achievements of the Japanese people. In the course of the last quarter of a century, especially in very recent years, the glass, hosiery, porcelain and other industries of Bengal as well as the big textile industry of India have begun to experience a life-and-death struggle *vis-à-vis* the imports from Japan.

It is to be hoped that a rational planning of export and import relations between Japan and India will succeed in safeguarding the interests of the *Swadeshi* industries, on the one hand, as well as the claims of the Indian producers and consumers to derive benefit from business with the people of Japan, on the other. In the light of pure economic reasoning it is likely to be found, as has been maintained by the present writer on several occasions, that while we have every duty and right to protect our struggling industries against Japanese competition whenever it is possible and practicable, it is perhaps not always safe to consider every piece of Japanese article in India as owing its arrival to an alleged dumping or to conclude that the Japanese threat of retaliation is factually anything more than 100 per cent. bluff.

What is Genuine Dumping ?

In order to prove a case of dumping it will be necessary to demonstrate that Japanese cotton goods are selling in Japan at higher prices than in India. As far as the present writer has been able to obtain information on this item, it points, curiously enough, rather in the opposite direction. It has been found that Japanese cotton goods are being sold in India at somewhat *higher prices than in Japan*. It appears that Indian consumers are prepared to buy Japanese stuffs at higher prices than the Japanese people themselves. This means

that even these relatively higher prices are lower than the prices of Indian *Swadeshi* cotton goods in India. In other words, should this be demonstrated on an extensive investigation, dumping can hardly be proven.

Relative Cheapness not a Case of Dumping.

What is it that renders the relatively higher Japanese prices lower than the prices of Indian goods in India? It may be due, among other circumstances, to price-cutting, currency depreciation, lower rates of wages and lower standard of living prevailing in Japan, and last but not least, lower costs of production per unit sold.) None of these causes of the lowering of prices can be legitimately complained against in economics. Price-cutting belongs to normal economic competition based as it is on the capitalistic system. Currency depreciation began with the United Kingdom's as well as India's getting away from the gold standard and was taken up later by Japan as recently also by America. The prevalence of the low standard of living is Japan's as well as Bengal's and India's chief capital in the struggle for economic self-assertion and can by no means be condemned, at any rate, so far as the present issues are concerned. As for the low costs of production per unit Japan as every other country has to thank technocracy, rationalization and what not. Whenever there is international trade there is bound to be a difference between the trading countries on the score of the costs of production. To condemn the existence of rationalization or better methods of production and marketing in one of the trading countries would be tantamount to penalizing the entire structure of commerce between nations and compelling the consumers of the world to submit to a system of higher prices.

Protection of National Industries.

The present crisis, such as has arisen between Japan and India, cannot be solved if we approach it from the standpoint of genuine dumping. It is a case of certain foreign industries which have become powerful, no matter for what reason, competing with and likely to weed out of existence certain industries of our own such as for one reason or other have failed to develop the staying power in an open market of free competition. We encounter here a case of "protecting" national industries, pure and undefiled.

Imperial Preference as a New Factor.

From the Japanese side it should be patent to everybody that with the enactment of Imperial Preference on a reciprocal basis the "most favoured nation treatment" between India and Japan ceases automatically to exist. A new convention or treaty more or less on the contingent or quota basis is therefore called for like the ones, for instance, recently entered into between the United Kingdom on the one hand and Argentina, Denmark and Germany on the other. So far as the cotton interests are concerned, on the question of Japan *vs.* Lancashire, the judgment has already been passed and in fact has been effective since 1930. And as regards Bombay, Imperial Preference has served but to cement her alliance with Lancashire *vis-à-vis* Japan.

Autarchy vs. Boycott in Japan.

On the Indian side it should be unreasonable to look upon every instance of reduction in Japanese takings of Indian raw produce as inspired by boycott or reprisal. Apart from the question of the universal economic depression which has brought down the trade figures to nearly the third of the "normal" level, we should take due cognisance of the fact that for some long time Japan like other countries including India has been attempting to become "autarchic" or self-sufficient in certain directions. The Japanese demand for Indian pig iron and cotton may naturally be expected to be more and more limited in future by the capacity of regions under Japanese influence in Manchuria and China to deliver the materials that she has up till now been importing from extra-Japanese sources. The ambitions of Japan in regard to this kind of autarchy are no less legitimate than our own aspirations in regard to industrialization and Swadeshi.

Japanese Market for Indian Pig Iron.

And yet it is important to observe incidentally that although Japanese takings of pig iron from Kwantung Province in China rose from a value of 3,155,000 yens in 1923 to 6,515,000 yens in 1929 (the last pre-depression "normal" year) the imports from India increased in a much larger proportion, namely, from 6,740,000 yens to 16,950,000 yens (one yen may be taken for general purposes as roughly equivalent to Re. 1-4-0). In 1930-31, further, Japan took 161,000 tons but in 1931-32 she raised her takings from India to 188,000 tons.

Japan is poor in iron mines at home or in Korea. The new mines of Manchuria such as are coming under Japanese capitalism are reported to contain several hundred millions of ores. But the adequate exploitation of these resources is not yet a question of practical politics.

In other words, it will take Japan, humanly speaking, quite a long time to make herself independent of the Indian source in an effective manner. A fact like this is well calculated to inspire coolness in our judgments while hearing of anti-Indian sentiments in Japan or indulging in anti-Japanese emotions ourselves.

Indian Cotton vs. Egyptian and American in Japanese Industry.

The trend of Indian exports of raw cotton to Japan indicates likewise the great hold of the Indian cultivator on the Japanese cotton textile industry. From the pre-war average of 1,012,000 bales of 400 lbs. each the Japanese demand for Indian cotton rose up to the post-war average of 1,540,000 bales, reaching the climax in 1930-31 with 1,686,000 bales. In 1931-32 Japan reduced her takings of Indian cotton to 1,080,000 bales. This reduction can hardly be accounted for by boycott or retaliation of any sort but is an item in the all-round reductions in this epoch of depression.

But on the other hand, it is quite likely and understandable that as a result of previous progress the Japanese textile industry should attempt to manufacture the "quality goods" in the cotton line and thus compete with the British and other continental exporters on the world-market. And since Indian cotton is not of a superior quality adapted to the requirements of better-quality yarns and piece-goods it is not unreasonable to suspect that the Japanese industry should in future look more often to Egypt and the U. S. A. for the supply of raw cotton than to India. Indeed, Japanese contacts with these countries have been at least as old as with us. And if from now on there is a partial transfer of orders from India to Africa and America it must not be considered to be necessarily motivated by boycott or reprisal. The development of Manchuria as an eventual source of cotton for the Japanese textile industry belongs of course to the region of autarchistic futurism which has hardly anything to do with anti-Indianism.

Wanted a Bengali Delegation to investigate in Japan.

While the Japanese delegation is at work in India to study Indian conditions on the spot one feels naturally that a batch of

Indian, especially Bengali, business men and economists should visit Japan and explore the avenues to the development of India's opportunities for expansion over there. Economic legislation and the currency and tariff manipulations alone are not likely to place us on our feet and keep us up for any length of time. It is very desirable that we study also the other methods such as have rendered Japan so formidable in Asian as well as in Eur-American markets. We must not render unto politics more than the things that are of politics but should learn to give the other Devils also their dues in the scheme of international trade values.

Industrial Efficiency not due to Individual Merit.

In the first place, we must guard ourselves against committing the fallacy of believing too naively that the Japanese are more "efficient," man for man, than the Bengalis. We must not make a fetish of universal "literacy," which *en passant* is not to be confounded with education, however desirable literacy be on other grounds. Indeed, none of the European races are to be postulated as more efficient than any of the peoples of Asia. (Modern industrial efficiency is more a "social" complex than a function of individual merit, skill or character.) And in this complex the lion's share belongs to technocracy, rationalization, "scientific management," and business organization.) In our examination of the output per head in Japan, high as it is compared to that in India, we should learn to associate it in an adequate manner with the effects of first-class implements of the latest type as well as the cartels, trusts and other associations for the control and marketing of the output.)

Agricultural Indebtedness in Japan.

We are apt very often to ignore or overlook the many limitations and handicaps of a serious nature, under which the Japanese economy functions. Agriculture is the mainstay of nearly 77 per cent. of the Japanese people (65 millions) and the peasants of Japan carry a huge debt on their shoulders. We in Bengal are living under the perpetual nightmare of agricultural indebtedness amounting to some Rs. 35 per head of the population (51 millions). Last July the Japanese Parliament received a petition from the cultivators to the effect that 5,00,00,000 farmers had to bear a debt of 55,00,00,000 yens.

The debt per head of population appears thus to be Rs. 107, say, three times as much as in Bengal. Now on the strength of the

calculations of the Bankers' Trust Company of New York the Japanese national income per head is somewhat like Rs. 105 whereas the national income of the Indian people is taken to be Rs. 42. In other words, the Japanese agricultural debt is relatively to income higher than the Bengali. It was also a matter of serious consideration that on account of the various reasons including the world-depression, the peasant's total expenses due to cultivation, housekeeping, taxes, etc., averaged 1,030 yens whereas the total income did not amount to more than 917 yens leaving a deficit of some 112 yens.

It is not necessary to be dogmatic about these figures comparatively or absolutely considered. But Bengali economists and economic statesmen should not feel unnerved while posing Japan against Bengal on the score of social conditions. It should be very possible for the Bengali people to attain to some of the industrial glories that are being enjoyed by the Japanese to-day in spite of their preponderantly agricultural character and in spite of the weaknesses associated with the agricultural economy.

Modest Labour Conditions in Japan.

A weakness of the Japanese people in so far as industrial efficiency is concerned must not be lost sight of. The Social Bureau of the Japanese Home Ministry has published a report from which we understand that there are 46,70,000 workers in Japan but that the number of the organized working men and women is nearly 3,69,000. This is not more than 8 per cent. of the total labour force, comprising as it does, factory, mining, transportation and other workers as well as day labour.

The primitiveness of Japanese labour conditions can be appreciated only if we realize that in Germany which possesses the same number of inhabitants as Japan the number of unionized working men is 82,00,000. This is 2,172 per 10,000 of the total population as against 43 only in Japan. Japanese 43 is however to be placed against the Indian 16. While India has still to rise up to the height of the Japanese co-efficient in the trade union movement, (Bengali economists and publicists ought to take heart from the Japanese example and be encouraged into the belief that even with modest Asian conditions in the standard of living, labour organization, etc., it is possible to compete with the Eur-American firms in their own markets.)

Insurance and Banking Expansion in Japan.

The serious attention of Bengali businessmen and industrialists should be directed to the enormous growth of capital which is the most signal feature of economic Japan in recent years. No consideration would be more telling in this regard than the fact that a single insurance company in Japan, the Nippon Life Assurance Company of Tokyo, commands more policies (6,87,000) than all the Indian and foreign insurance companies in India put together (6,56,000).

The progress of Japanese banking is likewise astounding. Even down to 1907 Japan was rather modest not possessing more than Rs. 11-4-0 per head as bank capital. But to-day it is Rs. 41 as against the Bengali bank capital per capital of Re. 1-9-0. In bank deposits per head of population Japan has likewise been rising very swiftly. While the British deposit per head can be estimated at Rs. 684, the Japanese is Rs. 238 whereas the Bengali is not much above Rs. 10-0-0. An idea of bank facilities available in Japan will be evident from the fact that there are altogether 2,100 banks with 6,000 branches. For every 7,400 persons there is a bank office in Japan. This is a high co-efficient comparable almost to the British 4,700 and American 4,300. The amount of capital at the disposal of the cottage, small, medium and large industries of Japan is something in regard to which the Bengali people can legitimately envy the Japanese.

Japan as Example for Bengal.

Japan has taught Bengal great lessons during the last quarter of a century. Bengal's admiration for Japan has grown from more to more all this time. Even to-day while Bengal has to encounter Japan more as a dangerous rival than as an inspiring guide, the exponents of Bengali industrialism should not fail to detect the thousand and one points of affinity between the fundamental ambitions of Young Bengal and economic Japan on the common platform of the modernization of Asia.

What Bengal needs to-day for her industrialization is more liquid capital to be rendered available per head of population than is at present the case. From now on the Bengali people should embark upon cultivating more intimate and intensive intercourse with the Japanese people even if for no other purpose but that of ascertaining how it is possible for men and women, who by the higher Eur-American standards are used to rather low rates of wages and salaries and

modest ideas of necessities and comforts, to yet amass huge bank accounts to be mobilized in the interest of agriculture, industry and commerce. Should the present Japanese-Indian crisis in commercial relations turn out to be an agency in the awakening of Young Bengal to the economic realities, a great step will have been taken in the direction of Bengal's autarchy in the realm of Indian industrialism as well as her expansion in the diverse fields of world-economy.

THE TREND OF ASIATIC MIGRATIONS

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THE leader of a great nation and a representative government recently declared that the twentieth century will devote itself to the solution of the problem of race on which will depend whether the world will have peace or war in the future. Yet this very nation has contributed to make the race and colour problems more and more perplexing.

European Mass Migration and its Causes.

The race problem becomes acute during periods of mass migration and conflict of peoples. During the latter part of the nineteenth century Europe entered on a period of mass migration on a scale unique in human history. The population of Europe virtually doubled during the era of expansion of European Powers in Asia, Africa and the Americas, and the surplus millions were absorbed in the colonies and dependencies. Yet it cannot be said that the European migration of the last century was due chiefly to over-population. On the other hand, the European expansion was more or less synchronous with the industrial revolution which created a feverish demand for tropical raw materials and food on the one hand, and overseas markets for Western manufactured goods on the other. The neglect of home agriculture, the concentration on manufacturing enterprise, the change in social organisation and rise of a directive class, the spirit of adventure and conquest, and, above all, the facilities of communication and transport—all contributed to maintain a continuous outward thrust of the European peoples until about eight-ninths of the world's surface was brought under the direct political subjection of the white races.

A Europeanised World.

The result has been that since the middle of the last century there has been a grave maladjustment in the distribution of the world's population and resources. 150 million people of Europe, *i.e.*, less than one-third of the world's population, control roughly approximately 35,000,000 sq. miles or two-thirds of the world's habitable

land area, leaving the remainder of humanity in occupation of only one-third of the area. The whole of the Americas, Africa with the exception of Abyssinia and the Negro republic of Liberia, and Australasia have come under the European suzerainty.

Quite a considerable proportion of Asia, with the exception of China, Japan and Siam, has come under direct European rule or within the sphere of European economic imperialism, which has often neglected the food requirements of the native races in this era of world-industry and trade. In fact, about 900 million Asiatics are confined to only 6,600,000 sq. miles of Asiatic territory. Thus six times as many Asiatics occupy less than twice the land area held by European peoples.

Expansion of Population in Asia.

Meanwhile, peace, order, and sanitation, which have been Europe's gift to Asia, have led to an enormous multiplication of Oriental populations. The population of India increased from 206,162,400 in 1871 to 352,936,500 in 1931—a gain of about 150,000,000 within six decades. It has been estimated that China gained about 76,000,000 people between 1810 and 1910, and now has a population of 452,000,000. Japan increased her population from 33,100,000 in 1854 to 64,448,000 in 1931, almost doubling since her acceptance of Western civilisation in the former year. At the present moment the pressure of population on the soil in India, China and Japan is enormous, though it is greatest in Japan, which is, besides, relatively deficient in minerals, having little coal, less iron and no petroleum. The flowing myriads of these densely-peopled countries thus cry for the vast empty spaces in Australia, Africa and the Americas.

Asiatic Mass Migration.

Nor is mass migration a phenomenon to which the Asiatics are unaccustomed. Apart from race migrations and conquest of the Mongols from the steppes and grass-lands of Central Asia, which had so enormous political and economic reactions on the plains-peoples of Asia and Southern and Eastern Europe in successive epochs, we have the colonisation of Java, the Malaya Archipelago, and Further India which began in the eighth century and seemed due not to conquests but to settlement of Indian traders along the sea-route between India and the Spice Islands. Similarly, the Chinese were for centuries extending the frontiers of cultivation towards the Mongolian and

Tibetan plateaux conquering and taming the shepherds and scattering patches of agricultural colonies in the grass-lands of the nomads.

Not less significant had been the Chinese penetration of Siam, Annam and Cambodia where for centuries the social and political organisation was modelled after the Chinese pattern. Even beyond the confines of Asia, the East Indian traders were well known on the eastern coast of Africa, long before the advent of the European navigator in these seas. Indeed, it was an Indian pilot who directed Vasco da Gama across the sea to Calicut,—an event which ultimately paved the way for European trade and mastery of the Indian Ocean. No doubt there were colonies of Arabs and Indians in East Africa which followed the merchants from the Indian shores spreading inland as well as northward through the coast towns for well-nigh four centuries.

Indian Contract Labour.

But in the nineteenth century, Asiatic migration was renewed under bad auspices and in evil guise. With the migration of Western capital into the tropical and sub-tropical worlds, there was an imperative demand for labour in outlying settlements and plantations, timber-yards and mining camps. Slavery and subsequently indentured or contract labour were introduced within the British Empire to meet this need, and the two great human reservoirs of China and Japan were chiefly drawn upon. The first officially recorded instance of genuine recruitment for emigration from India occurred in 1830 when the French merchant, Joseph Argaud, carried some 150 artisans to Bourbon.¹ The French possessions in India, Karikal and Pondichery, offered an easy recruiting ground and there was a continuous flow of Indian labourers to Reunion and other French colonies which could hardly meet the needs of labour after the abolition of slavery by France in 1849. Slavery was abolished in the British Colonies in 1830, and this gave a great impetus to the emigration of Indian indentured labour. Between 1834 and 1837 about 7,000 labourers were recruited from the port of Calcutta for Mauritius, which was threatened with ruin on account of the scarcity of labour in the sugar estates. Indian contract labour, regulated by the first Emigration Act of 1837, which provided that contracts should be terminable after five years, thus began to work the plantations of Mauritius, British Guiana, and Australia, where 89 Indians, the first and last batch of direct

¹ *Indian Year Book*, 1930, p. 857.

emigrants to that country, were received. Later, Indian labourers were recruited for Jamaica and Trinidad, since 1844, for Ceylon since 1847, for the French Colonies of Reunion and Bourbon since 1849, for St. Lucia since 1858, and for St. Vincent, Natal, St. Kitts, and the French territories of Guiana, Reunion, Guadeloupe and Martinique, since 1860. The emigration of Indian contract labour to Grenada and to Surinam began from 1869 and 1872 respectively. With the abolition of slavery, contract labour, indeed, became the mainstay of the European organisers of industry throughout the tropics.¹ Indian contract labour thus built up the prosperity of the West Indies, Guiana, Natal, Mauritius, Malay, Ceylon and Fiji where the plantations have been worked by Indians in some cases for nearly a century. The system of indenture was definitely abolished in 1920 throughout those parts of the British Empire directly under the control of the United Kingdom. In Mauritius the system continued until 1922. The following table gives the years of the beginning of indentured emigration from India and the abolition of indenture in some of the important colonies:

	Beginning of emigration of indentured labour.	Abolition of indenture.
Mauritius	1834	1922
British Guiana	1845	1920
Trinidad	1844	1920
Jamaica	1845	1911
Grenada	1846	1917
St. Lucia	1857	1917
St. Kitts	1860	1917
St. Vincent	1861	1917
Nevis	1871	1917
Reunion	1860 ✓	1882
French Guiana	1860	1877
Guadeloupe	1873	...
Martinique	1874	...
St. Croix	1862	1865
Dutch Guiana	1873	1912
Natal	1860	1910
Fiji	1879	1917
Australia	1837	1901
Ceylon	1842	1908
Malaya	1800	1910

(introduction of a
dictation test)

¹ For the effects of the abolition of slavery and the introduction of the indentured labour system, see Alleyne Ireland, *Tropical Colonisation*, IV and V.

Contract labour still continues in some form in Burma, Malaya, Dutch East Indies and the French Colonies though Great Britain has formally prohibited the practice of indenture in the Empire since 1915. Monthly agreements are now usually in vogue; and both conditions of recruitment and labour are supervised by official agencies. But when the labourer starts on his voyage overseas with a debt to the *Kangani* (labour headman), the protection of the law giving him freedom is nullified. Chinese contract labour still exists in Malaya, Dutch East Indies, French Colonies, Samoa, New Guinea and Nauru. The French Government has recently decided to permit Javanese contract labour in certain of the French South Sea Islands, and it is being asked for by the British planters in the New Hebrides.¹ Australia, New Zealand and Hawaiian islands had similarly used Chinese contract labour during their early stages of development, but abandoned it long ago. For nearly eight decades indentured emigration from India remained in force, and the system was associated with various abuses such as kidnapping, fraud, brutal treatment, and robbery of wages and in fact all the evils of slavery, which led to the appointment of various committees of enquiry since 1838. The semi-servile existence of the indentured labourers led also to certain grave moral evils. In many of the plantations the scarcity of women resulted in sexual crimes, murders and suicides. In Fiji, for instance, the moral conditions under which indentured labourers from India lived in the plantations were shocking. That the percentages of immorality, suicide and murder were much higher than in India left no doubt as to cause and effect. The death-rate among indentured Indians was twice as high as amongst the unindentured. "In India," says Mr. C. F. Andrews, "the abolition of the indenture system is often regarded as parallel to the abolition of slavery, which had happened nearly a century before in the West Indies and in other parts of the British Empire."² Whether enslaved or decoyed, encouraged or uninvited, Indian and Chinese labourers have gone throughout the plantation and pioneer belts of the world. Indians, no less than the Chinese, are found, in almost every region of cultivation and civilisation; they are found in British Columbia, Utah and California as well as in the beaming equatorial forests of Uganda and Borneo. They are as hard-working, frugal and temperate in their habits as the Chinese; they show great adaptability to climatic

¹ *Problems of the Pacific*, pp. 148, 133.

² *India's Emigration Problem*, Foreign Affairs, April, 1930; also Roberts, *Population Problems of the Pacific*, p. 206.

variation, though in less measure perhaps than the Chinese, whose home environment is much more varied. All these are qualities which have excellently fitted the Indians for reclamatory, extractive or agricultural labour in the pioneer zones of both cold and torrid worlds. In British Columbia and Malay the Indians are employed in the lumber-yards, in Utah and Natal they are miners, they are tappers in the rubber plantations in Ceylon, Malay and Sumatra, while they are fruit-growers and vegetable-gardeners in South Africa and California.

Alien Labour needed.

Whatever the origin of these Indian, Chinese or Japanese settlements—whether state-aided colonisation or released indentured labour as with the Indians in the West Indies, British Guiana, Trinidad, Fiji, and Natal ; or free migration, as with the Chinese, Japanese, and Indian agriculturists and fruit-gardeners on the Pacific Coasts of America ; or contract labour with the obligation to return after a fixed period as in the case of the Chinese in the Transvaal—there cannot be any doubt that the alien labour was recruited or actively searched for, at great trouble and expense because its services were absolutely necessary.

Economic Conflict develops.

People follow old ruts whether they are stay-at-home or migratory. Accordingly once the migration of the Indians, Chinese or Japanese was artificially encouraged for developmental purposes, the flow from the mother-country continued until there was a large domiciled alien community under the new skies. Meanwhile the settlement itself develops from pioneer conditions to maturity. (Population increases and with this the economic competition between the different elements of the population, natives and colonists, white and yellow and brown and black. Thus the attitude of welcome formerly accorded to the immigrants is superseded by one of hostility. Such is briefly, the genesis of the present movement of Oriental exclusion)

Western World's Debt to Asiatics.

It was not until the importation on a large scale of Indian labourers into the West Indies that the labour problem in the sugar plantations, which had become acute on the abolition of slavery, was in a great measure solved. In fact, the liberal conditions of contract and inducements offered to the Indians to settle in the

country saved the West Indies. The Indians similarly built the Uganda Railway, and the wealth of East Africa was largely due to the Indian traders. The coal-mines and sugar and tea estates of Natal were nursed to prosperity by the Indians, who also brought under intensive farming large tracts of land which but for them would have remained barren. The Chinese saved the gold industry of the Rand, the greatest industry in South Africa, and did much of the spade-work on the Pacific coast of North America. In the lumber yards of British Columbia and the orchards of California, the enterprise and skill of the Chinese, Japanese and Indians built up the prosperity of young, sparsely populated regions.

Economic Jealousy.

When it became evident, however, that the Asiatic immigrants were superseding or competing successfully with the Americans or the European colonists and at the same time rapidly multiplying by natural increase and immigration, the cry arose for restriction, and ultimately exclusion. To South Africa the Indian peasant colonist, accustomed at home to intensive farming and tiny holdings, imported his habits and agricultural practices and the European population in Natal, for instance, which had cultivated and had been in intimate connection with the soil, was gradually supplanted. Though the Indian's cheap fruits and vegetables became the envy of the Transvaal, he provoked racial jealousy. Further the Indian everywhere aspired to a higher social position, and became a waiter, a clerk, a skilled artisan (carpenter, blacksmith, mechanic, etc.), a store-keeper, a small trader or even a merchant on a considerable scale, thus competing with and gradually limiting the field of the white man. Formerly, the European trader had the monopoly, but the Indian trader and store-keeper gradually began to oust him in the towns, and at the same time continued to extend both the area and the amount of his business among the native population. From the point of view of a young colony, the Indian hawker or retail dealer who could reach successfully the natives and thus create a demand for products of civilisation among them, performed a real public service, but the charge was levelled against him that he competed with the European trader and that he underlived him.

Alien Labour in Australia.

Fifty years ago there were large numbers of Chinese miners, especially in Victoria and New South Wales. In New South

Wales they there were as many as 60,000, representing in 1887 about 15 per cent. of the population, while the Kanakas were building up the prosperity of Queensland in the sugar plantations. But the Australian labourer, accustomed to high wages, feared economic defeat from his Chinese competitor. The Australian ports are within easy sail of the ports of China, while the climate as well as certain branches of trade and industry in Australia, such as the cultivation of the soil for domestic purposes and tin and gold mining, were peculiarly attractive to the Chinese.¹ Therefore the Chinese immigration was restricted by hasty, almost panicky regulation. Similarly, the first Kanakas were introduced in 1863 from the South Sea Islands as indentured labourers to work the sugar estates. They proved satisfactory in the plantations, and, when their numbers increased, they did not confine themselves to agricultural labour but competed with white labour in various arts and occupations. Accordingly Queensland demanded their deportation, and the Australian Federal Government passed an Act in 1901 ordering the Kanakas in Australia back to their island homes. Australia has since remained the white man's reserve in close proximity to Asia's human reservoirs full to overflowing.

Asiatics in U. S. and Canada.

Fifty years ago, at least three out of every four farm labourers in California were Chinese. Both the Chinese and the Japanese have long been the most numerous and most efficient fruit-growers and vegetable gardeners in this area, nor should we forget the Indians, who number about 1,800 in California now compared with over twice the number six years ago, chiefly agriculturists. The lure of gold attracted to California adventurers and speculators of every class and nationality, men who were by disposition unfit for the irksome, laborious work necessary in the early stages of a pioneer settlement. The Pacific Coast thus needed Chinese labour for its economic development, the Chinese undertaking in large numbers the heavy drudging work which the white men would not do. Mears observes: "No doubt the Chinese workers rendered a valuable service to the Coast also by reclaiming swamp lands, by providing labour for constructing trans-continental rail-roads, by building roads, and by promoting agriculture and industry." The first Japanese who came to California, it is admitted, were undoubtedly the best class of labour.

¹ Lord Cannington's *Reasons for restricting Chinese Immigration*, April, 1888.

that ever reached America. Like the Chinese they specialised in intensive farming, growing green vegetables, fruits and nuts, potatoes, rice and berries which require labour so irksome that the American farmer cannot compete with them economically. For there are branches of intensive industry to which the Orientals have been accustomed for generations in their home lands. But, unlike the Chinese who gradually disappeared from agriculture, the Japanese attempted to ascend the social ladder and compete successfully with the white tenant farmer, acquiring rather rapid control of the small land-holdings. It should be pointed out, however, that "the so-called white labourer in California is, to a large extent, made up of alien peoples, notably Italians, Portuguese, Swiss, Scandinavians and Armenians. The real economic competition in agriculture is not so much between the descendents of the white farmers and the Orientals as it is between the later European immigrants and the Orientals."¹ In 1921 the Japanese numbered about 111,000 in the United States,² and produced in California farm products worth 58 millions or 12 per cent. of the total. The actual number of Indian farmers in the United States has not been estimated, since two or more persons co-operate to purchase a farm; the total average of land owned by Indians in California amounted to 2,099 acres, while the number of acres under lease or contract was 86,340. The majority of the Indian residents on the Pacific Coast now work on the farm, especially in rich valleys of California. But, like the Chinese they had also arrived as labourers in the construction of the Western Pacific Railroads, as well as a small number on the Southern Pacific and Northern Pacific Railroads. Gradually they shifted from the railroad to the farm, and the Imperial Valley and the Sacramento Valley offered to the pioneer Indian settlers in California rich rewards in the cultivation of cotton, rice and vegetables. Similarly in British Columbia they first worked in the lumber mills, logging camps and on the railroads, but now they have started independent lumber mills and other businesses, while a considerable number engage themselves in agriculture owning the lands they operate. (Both the Indians and, in a much larger measure, the Japanese, rose in the economic scale and from farm-operators transformed themselves into owners of land. This raised racial prejudice first among the tenant-farmers, gave birth to the anti-alien land laws, and prepared the whole of the United States for

¹ *Tentative Findings of the Survey of Race Relations*, p. 14.

² In 1928 they numbered 141,550 in the United States.

an active policy of Oriental exclusion. Similarly the success of the Chinese retail trader in the Philippine Islands and almost everywhere and of the Japanese fisherman in the Canadian and Hawaiian fishing industry, has aroused active hostility of those who have suffered economic defeat and explain the present demand for restriction or complete exclusion.

Racial Passion Contagious.

Racial passion does not arise unless the different races meet in competition for their daily bread. The Negroes do not engender any fear or dislike in Africa or West Indies, but only in the south-eastern belt of the United States, where coloured labour competes with white. Racial passion, again, when once aroused is contagious. It easily spreads from the frontiers of civilisation to old settlements, from the young colony to the mother country and *vice versa*. The resentment felt against the growing Indian, Chinese or Japanese communities spread from Natal to all the States of South Africa, from California to all the States comprising the United States, from North to South America and from Australia to New Zealand. (In each case the economic competition and conflict were the chief motives, but these are everywhere rationalised into the demand for the protection of the standard of living of white labour, for the maintenance of purity of white blood, for the preservation of white civilisation as a small minority among coloured humanity. All these demands, often labelled as "reasons" for oriental exclusion whether in America, South Africa, or Australasia, have fed the doctrine of superiority of the white races, of which America stands to-day as the most ardent champion. The intrinsic superiority or inferiority of races is a myth which has been exploded by anthropology and social psychology.)

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN EARLY INDIA AND THE PACIFIC

By DR. PANCHANAN MITRA, M.A., PH.D.
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WHEN a person is known only in his maturer years with a familiar moustache or a whisker, is it possible to recognise his features from a photograph of his earlier days when he was but a babe in arms? But once we are told of the identification, the familiar lineaments begin to be detected and we recognise a thousand and odd traits of expression which through all the changes unmistakably betray the features of infant days. Such was the first impression that sent a rude shock through me when I came in contact with the real Polynesian through the externals of his modern Americanised or Anglicised habiliments.

When my fairer Sindhi friend and countryman in Honolulu said that with an ukulele (Hawaiian guitar) I would be undistinguishable from the old masters of these Pacific islands, when the liftman would generally take me to be an islander and lastly when I was infinitely amused in the streets of Auckland in New Zealand by an old lady who thanked me for some gifts of some of my countrymen (taking me to be a Maori), I could feel that these impressions of the passer-by were but expressions of the scientific truth of some ethnic similarity between the races of Bengal and Polynesia. No wonder that the hoary scholar of New Zealand, Mr. Elsdon Best subscribed under his autograph portrait a welcome to one who had come from Atia-Te Varingi-Nui, the traditional fatherland of the Polynesians which according to him and the other great scholar Percy Smith lay somewhere on the Ganges.

Leaving the question of the racial correlations between the Caucasian Brachycephals of Bengal and Polynesia to the dull pages of a bulky memoir I would now pass on to another set of feelings that throttled me on my first acquaintance with the Bishop Museum and its unique collection illustrating the life of the Old Polynesians who culturally speaking are no more—all with their lands and belongings having gone to wiser ministrations of the Christian zealots, whose meek and admiring helots they have become.

I had read of the staple food of Polynesians as the *taro* and the breadfruit—imagine my surprise when I could recognise in both but our familiar *Colocassia* (*Kachu*) and a sort of earlier seedless rounded

jack-fruit not to speak of the familiar plantain and the cocoanut which were still their main sources of agricultural wealth. I was transported naturally in fancy to those times when the rice had not yet been cultivated in India and the plough had not yet come nor the wealth of cattle nor weaving in cotton nor perhaps any pottery, and the foodstuff consisted of these humble produces cultivated by the hoe with nothing but the domesticated hen and the pig. I naturally remembered the finding of ethno-botanists that the taro and the banana as also the domesticated fowl had probably originated in India or more correctly on the eastern borders of Bengal and Burma. Linguistically my Polynesian friends had closer affinities with what are known as the Austric or Pre-Dravidian peoples of India.

So what I am going to speak about should shock nobody for I want to transport the readers in imagination to those times when the Pre-Dravidian and the Dravidian elements had not yet been driven underground though the migration of the Caucasian brachycephals had already begun—times perhaps treasured in the folk-lore of Bengal of its 'Sinhal-Vijaya' or its 'Dhanapati sadagar' when its colonists and traders would be of mingled types.

It was Rivers who had pointed out how we could disentangle the knotty social history of India and China from Indonesia and of the latter place from Melanesia and Polynesia. Radcliffe-Brown had also made the interesting suggestion that the kinship terminology of India, Melanesia and Polynesia comparatively studied would give one the impression that out of a common system these varieties had forked out in the remote past and herein also might lie some clues to the origin of the Indian caste-system.

Thus it is that the comparative studies of the social structures of Polynesia yielded some important clues as to the possible lines of social stratification in the dim past of my motherland. Morgan, the father of social anthropology, had made the great discovery that the terms of relationship of a people often retained traces of its past customs specially of those who possessed what he called the classificatory system of terminology. By that he meant that the term of relationship would not be as amongst us descriptive of the family connection but would stand for a class of relations. An example would bring it home to us. We all know that in the south people marry the maternal uncle's daughter. Now we in Bengal call our maternal uncle *mama*—the Tamils also call him *mamu*—but we call our father-in-law *svasur* but to the Tamil generally and potentially the father-in-law and the maternal uncle are the same individual so they have the same word *mamu*

for the father-in-law as also for the maternal uncle. Thus the Tamils have classificatory terminology and we have the descriptive or family system and this in the case of the maternal uncle's daughter marriage or cross-cousin marriage is borne out amply in its relationship terms—the maternal aunt and the mother-in-law bearing the same term, the brother-in-law and maternal uncle's sons being called by the same terms and so on. Rivers showed clearly how this cross-cousin marriage system is distinctly Dravidian. This is however widely spread and is found not only in Central India and amongst Chhota Nagpur and Assam tribes but also in many regions of the Pacific and in primitive Australia.

This is being tried to be linked up to an earlier system of cruder organisation called the dual organisation in which theoretically the society would be divided into two exogamous groups—in our familiar terminology only two *gotras* say in one endogamous group or caste. Ghurye's attempt to prove this as vestige of earlier dual organisation in India (*vide* Journal of the Royal Anthropol. Inst., 1923) is unconvincing as K. P. Chattopadhyay has shown (Presidential address, Science Congress, Anthropol. Section, 1931) in his illuminating paper, trying to show the part played by contact of peoples with different social organisations bringing this about. In the course of a recent communication by our research student Mr. J. K. Bose, M.A., this has been corroborated amongst the Aimol Kukis of Assam. Further he has found amongst many tribes a tri-clan system with remarkably similar method of marriage classes as amongst the Ambrym people of Melanesia.

Thus our present studies go to show the possibility of the existence of very primitive systems of exogamy in India comparable to the dual organisation of Melanesia or the class-systems of the Pacific and Australia. The Melanesian evidence shows that the cross-cousin marriage people were later in the Pacific than the earlier dual organisation or six-class systems folk. In India also such people are found to belong to a much more primitive stratum and may be of earlier culture stratum.

One of the curious features of some types of society in primitive Australia and Melanesia (Dieri and Pentecost for example) would be the grandfather-granddaughter marriage in a classificatory sense. This is found in 'Type II' marriage in Australia with the mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter or rather a cousin who is the granddaughter of a brother or the maternal grandfather. The characteristic kinship terminology of this system would be to class the elder brother with the grandfather and the elder sister with the

grandmother as is the case with Bengali terms where also survives the jocose relationship between grandparents and grandchildren. This is also found amongst many Chhota Nagpur tribes, *e.g.*, Birhors which as S. C. Roy has suggested is due to a previous grandfather-granddaughter marriage now long since extinct. If such people are matrilineal (*i.e.*, counting descent from the mother and not from the father as amongst us) there would be further the marriage with the widow of the mother's brother as in the Garo tract and in Melanesian regions of the Pacific.

Thus we might venture to say with clues from the Pacific that the earlier stratum in Indian society (say Pre-Dravidian) was one with dual organisation and marriage-classes and with granddaughter-grandfather marriage in places. On it was superposed a structure (say Dravidian) with cross-cousin marriage. In the Pacific the still later element was the fairer Polynesian—as in India it was the Proto-Aryan.

Now we come to an interesting comparison between the early Vedic Aryans and Polynesians. Shades of Morgan forgive us for to him the Aryan society was just diametrically opposite to what he called Hawaiian or Northern Polynesian.

To Morgan the Hawaiian society was the starting point of social organisation without any family which has now been proved to be absurd. Further the proofs on which he mainly relied, namely the simple classificatory terminology of the Hawaiians, has been shown by Rivers to be a later development.

In any case the close similarity between the two and four caste-groups in India and Polynesia is remarkable. As in India we have the *aryas* and the *dasas* so in early Polynesia we have the *alii* or *ariki* and the common people. Similarly in the later Polynesian society in Tahiti we have the four distinct classes *arii-maroura*, *arii-ri'i*, *hui-ra'atira* and the *manahune*. In both India and Polynesia the personal sanctity of the chief and the important position of the heir-apparent and the succession to the chiefship by the eldest son of the principal wife was common. There was in Polynesia the custom of brother-sister marriage amongst the chiefs but tabooed to the commoner for the same reasons as are advanced in the Pali literature (as pointed out to me by Mr. S. N. Mitra)—‘for fear they should otherwise pollute the purity of their line.’ According to Karandiker there was absence in early Vedic society of sept-exogamy as was also the case in Polynesia, with avoidance of near kins in marriage. The relatives known as *punalua* in Hawaii, *i.e.*, the husbands of two sisters, and a brother's wife are in jocose relationship in Bengal without

any trace of *cicisbeism* either in India or possibly in Hawaii and may have entailed some marital preferential claims in early India with *levirate* (or *nityoga* by which an elder brother's widow could be married by the younger brother) and *sororate* (by which the wives' sisters were marriageable). Further if, as Mr. Chakladar pointed out to me, there was no term for mother's brother in early Vedic, the word *matula* being later, the terms of kinship in both tracts would be very similar—for the main feature of Hawaiian terminology is lack of a separate term for the maternal uncle which is characteristic of the next succeeding Dravidian (or as Lowie calls it Dakotan) system.

Thus our Indo-Pacific comparisons yield us three distinct strata: one basic Proto-Australoid and Pre-Dravidian, the second intermediate Dravidian with cross-cousin marriage and the third Proto-Aryan or Indo-Polynesian (as Dr. Handy would call it) stretching from India to the Pacific.

HITLERISM:

A GERMAN INTERPRETATION *

By DR. O. URSCHS.

MOST of the articles which have been published in England and America overlooked the basic factor of the present world depression, *viz.*, the Treaty of Versailles. This treaty makes two tremendous mistakes, *viz.*, *firstly* that without the least knowledge and consideration of the age-old geo-political facts, inter-dependent trading areas and traffics were broken up and severed by custom barriers; *secondly* that the tributary payments demanded a unilateral flow of gold and goods and in a colossal quantity without any reciprocation on which alone the whole balance of world trade depends.

The generally misunderstood autocratic movements, which became manifest practically simultaneously in all these countries, which gradually came to be the victims of the world depression, extended also into the financial sphere. The exchange of currency notes against gold was curtailed. The hoarding of unused gold in certain countries endangered the currency of other countries; more active in foreign trade; and this brought up for the first time what are known as "frozen credits." The ever increasing custom barriers for instance in the U. S. A. and British Empire after the Ottawa conference reacted in two directions.

1. The firms and industrial enterprises in Germany which were supported by foreign loans and which under normal conditions would have become productive now became unproductive and the invested money went practically into loss, although it is still hoped that if these would some day revive, part of the investments may thereby be recovered.

2. Loans given to banks became definitely "frozen," a term which can be illustrated by a recent example. The German B.N.D.

* [The author read a paper, at the invitation of the International Fellowship, Calcutta, with a view to remove misunderstandings created by current periodicals not in touch with Germany. While putting up in a vigorous defence for the present régime in Germany, the writer was naturally criticised by several learned members of the Fellowship, both from the political and the economic standpoint. The paper being too long for a single insertion we publish below the political section, hoping to reproduce his preliminary economic thesis, in a future issue of our journal.—Ed.]

Bank had to repay in September, 1932 a loan of 25 million dollars. The money was ready in German Market, but as the U.S.A. banks were neither willing to accept this currency nor to buy in exchange for this German goods which could be sold profitably on the American market and further as the Reich Bank was not in a position to give the B. N. D. Bank the necessary dollar currency, the money remained idle in Germany and the American bankers had to consider it as a probable loss.

The financial difficulties, unemployment, trade debacle—all these go back to a common cause namely, the treaty of Versailles which, if humanity is to recover, should be revised the earliest possible time according to *sound commercial* and human principles.

Now what was the development of the German people in this difficult period? The political situation as well as the ethical and moral level on which this development took place is the same which led to the signing of the Versailles treaty. Versailles with its cold and cruel calculations would have been impossible in the middle ages; yet Versailles was not a mere coincidence. Versailles is the inevitable nemesis—the logical working but of the individualistic philosophy—that sponsored the rise and growth of the “Rights of Man” in 1789.

What then is individualism? Tersely put, it is nothing but a philosophic assertion and enthronement of the individual over and against the community. The middle ages were typical for the community doctrine, with a strong metaphysical background and enlivened by a general religious consciousness. It was also the last with universal ideas in ethics and politics. The development of rational philosophy is to be regarded as a natural reaction to the scholastic philosophy of the 15th and 16th century, which became divorced from life and degenerated into formal logic. While Pascal still fought an ethical fight against the psychological tyranny of the degenerated scholastic school, further development again went too far (Voltaire, Rousseau and Locke), until the French Revolution gave the “Rights of Man” a worldwide acknowledgment.

According to this philosophy, the only object of the community is to protect and assure the free development of the individual. Everyone has equal right on this protection, irrespective of the varying intrinsic value of personality. Everyone is supposed to have an equal right to fortune, that is to say, on a good life; naturally because with the increasing alienation from religious experiences the future life does not offer any tangible compensation for the present one. But since human life is short, nobody has time to wait;

everyone must have the means to a good life and quickly. This psychological hankering for quick realisation develops in politics that characteristic shortsightedness, which puts at discount the chance of a consolidated policy pointing to the remote future. The present age has ceased giving us great men as nobody now has got the leisure to become great.

However, the phrase "individual rights" is a contradiction in terms. An individual has no innate rights. Robinson Crusoe on the island had no "rights." For "rights" always pre-supposes at least a second individual. "Rights" therefore is but a set of relations between different individuals. In other words it has its origin and existence in community. Now the materialist of the present age lacks this perspective; our present day ethics is in no better position. This is shown very definitely particularly in the economic life; the producer falls back behind the pedlar; not the peasant who depends on God and fate for his crops; not the inventor who works for the next generations; not the enterprising man who designs and develops large-scale works and determines the future and gives to thousands the bread and water; and who consequently serves the community truly. But who rules our to-day's life, but the trader who is in no way connected with the mother soil, who wants only personal gains. He is the principal man of our days. A recent philosopher in Germany, Jung, states: One does not work any more to live, but one lives to make money. The pedlar instinct has been enthroned in all departments of human life.

This outlook on life explains the unhealthy pacifism of our days. As the individual fortune is the only object of live, one is too cautious to put this life on the stakes. To the individualist, the individual alone is the supreme reality; and it must be preserved at all costs. The sacrificial death has lost its vision. Whoever does not possess his own soil, does not die for it. And whoever does not know a fatherland does not fight for its life and preservation.

This unhealthy outlook again is most distinct in the various political parties. More or less all political parties not only in Germany but everywhere else, are in the grip of it. The German National Party tries in a reactionary way to bring back the golden age of Junkerdom and caste domination, but they forget that world history has already moved beyond that stage. The People's Party is said to fight for the interests of the small and big investors. The Central Party with its allegiance to Catholicism endeavours to earn for itself also the secular power through

exclusively directing the schools and other educational departments, Christian Trades Union, etc. The Democrats, the unworthy epigones of the classical democracy of 1848, are nothing but a camouflaged party of high finance. The Socialist Party aiming at the improvement solely of the material life of the workers, fights for higher wages and lesser hours without consideration to the economic situation of the nation, but takes away from its supporters the best of every man's life namely, the noble pride in their own country and nationality, which to build up, these workers have played a most prominent part. The picture of the world is reversed to the slow thinking brains with the help of a pseudo-science. Typical of these so-called scientists is a German author well-known in England and America, named Emil Ludwig. The communist finally is a full-blown materialist. He denies any metaphysical connection with past and future; he denies family and nation, country and law. Paragraph 1 of the civil law in Soviet Russia reads:

"Right is the system or the regulation of all social relations, which corresponds to the interest of the ruling classes and is protected by its organised force."

Paragraph 3 states:

"The criminal law of the Soviets has the object to safeguard that system of social relations, which is in the interest of the proletariat, by suppressing whatever may stand against it."

It is superfluous to waste words about this kind of right and law.

Such was the situation in Germany after the war. Peasants against labourers; employers against employees; Catholics against Protestants; Prussians against Bavarians; city against the open country; landlords against tenants; they all fought against each other under the flag of democracy. They all endeavoured to help only their own political parties, tried to get the greatest benefit out of the parley; they all promised their supporters success and rewards, and they forgot their country. Nobody remembered Germany.

To discuss the immediate political results of this situation would lead me too far afield but a few examples may explain what I mean. The pacifism of the Social-Democrats led Germany to accept the Versailles Treaty, although they realised its untruths and the impossibility of fulfilling the obligations solemnly confirmed by their signa-

tures. That a nation which is not afraid to die, is treated differently is shown in the example of Turkey. The greed for material possessions, the endeavour to protect industry of the Rhine valley, brought about the voluntary withdrawal of the passive resistance in the Ruhr valley. And yet the occupation of Ruhr alone had the promise of creating a united Germany for the first time since 1914. The endeavour to give the labourers who were the supporters of the Socialist Party, work and wages, led the men who were in charge during the boom years of 1927-29 to spending of money leading very often to nothing but the erection of a most superfluous and profitless construction. Communities and districts of the various German states were thrown into tremendous indebtedness to alien countries which jeopardised the commercial dignity of Germany in a very dangerous way; and yet the programme could not after all put a stop to the regular increasing unemployment.

On the other hand the productive factories of the old proud Germany were over-taxed by the Socialist governments well-known for their inimical attitude towards the employers. As a consequence thousands of brain and hand-workers were deprived of their daily bread. The wild hatred of the Social-Democrats against the old army and their representatives induced them to hand over Sch. to the French, who shot the hero of the Ruhr valley; their pacifism and inexperience in political affairs led them to surrender the voluntary fighters in the Baltic provinces and Upper Silesia, so that the Reich lost valuable provinces, contrary to the intentions of some of the allies, the British and the Italians. It would take many such evenings if I took to narrating this side of suffering the German people went through. It is enough to say that whatever the allies inflicted upon their German foe, it was not much in excess to what the German nation inflicted upon itself.

If one considers that in democracy, the ballot decides; if one considers further how very rare genial and great men are, one will come to understand that the elects of a real 100% democracy as we Germans "enjoyed" after the war, belonged to the *majority* the other name for inferiority; democratic principle involves "the rule of the inferior class" says Jung. The rulers of the past 13 years may have been most honourable men in their private lives, but even then, as Shakespeare says, also "Brutus was an honourable man." The short-sightedness of the materialistic politician could not cope with the tremendous problems of the present age—an age that dies to make place for a new one, they did not have the time to do so.

In the midst of this chaos came the Chancellorship of Hitler. Very rarely was a man so misunderstood in the German and foreign press, so untruthfully pictured as he has been. "The Statesman," on Sunday, the 12th of March, pictured Hitler as man below the average intellect. Who particularly is Hitler and what does his movement mean?

To understand this we must fall back on what we call the "war experience." The allies who had tremendous reservoir of human lives did not realise to such an extent as the German did. Only in Germany existed what we call a war generation which filled the trenches again and again, were wounded 5, 6, 8 times and always went out again, to forget finally all the pleasant memories of a peaceful hinterland. This generation belonged to the youth between 18 and 20, who had not yet the experience of the individualistic life of peace days, as their first awakening into life was in the trenches and unto death. No matter, whether a count, a peasant or a proletarian, all of them had only one single possession, *viz.*, their lives. They did not worry about feeding, clothing and so on. These were given to them automatically if the roads and the shell-fire lying on them, permitted. And in the trenches the uniform and the ration were all alike. The mud in Flanders, the dust in Russia painted the nobleman and the proletarian impartially with the same brush. Death became a matter of fact; life, the most wonderful gift of the moment, could be withdrawn every minute again. Worries of the daily life which were the subject of bitter political struggles in the home country were absorbed by the drone of the guns. The materialism of the daily life became evident, and the word of Schiller "If you never put your life on stake, you never will win life" was understood with a renewed glory. The community of the field-grey comrades only mattered, one offered his life to save every one of them. They represented the nation and Germany. The young German warriors realised that they stood alone against the whole world and that it was their privilege to die, to let Germany live.

Hitler belonged to this generation. When they came home, the phrases of the politicians lost their value. The answer was "It is all well and good, but where do you speak of Germany? And again "Who amongst you is going to die for the truth you are confessing?" "No body?" "Then there is no principle amongst you. Behold. We died and have come back to build up our now country."

In the beginning there were only a few who realised this. Most of them were in the graves of France, Russia and other places.

And there were many more who had yet to die in the Baltic provinces, in Upper Silesia and the Ruhr valley. But more and more joined the flag of the new nationalism, which adopted the age-old symbol of sun and life, *viz.*, the Swastika. As they went in 1914 to their regiments, so now they flocked from all quarters, from universities, from factories and offices, from hills and from the open country. Hitler who is called a damagogue gave them one common feeling, *viz.*, the vision of the German Nation. No more divided by parties serving conflicting interests, they endeavoured to build up a new country out of what was left. Their first slogan was "Germany must live even if we must die."

It has to be understood that Hitlerism does not mean a political party but a spiritual awakening. One can compare it perhaps with the wave of nationalism which went through England in the year 1649. The movement started in 1920 and in it joined all the organisations of those days that were unwilling to accept the humiliations inflicted on the central government. This movement deepened and broadened during the years 1920—25, its philosophic principles, analysed and enunciated by men like E. Jung, M. V. D. B., H. Stapel, A. Winning, J. Feder! but it yet lacked political experience. The unsuccessful rising in Munich in 1923 which broke down under the fire of the Bavarian police was a sad example of it. But as soon as the philosophical basis was firmly established, Hitler who gave his word to the court of law to achieve his goal only by legal means, founded in 1925 the National Socialist Party of German labourers. This name was selected because no nationalism can exist without an effective care for the social life of the people and that again no socialism can exist without first being founded on its own nation, before being extended to humanity. As in a democratic state a political goal can be achieved only via the political representation, it was necessary to organise a party. But Hitler was never in a position to go into coalition with any of the old parties without compromising some of his essential principles. This was the reason why in 1932 Hitler has consistently declined to join any government over which he had no control. The events plainly justified his point of view.

His programme in big lines is :

1. The creation of the German citizen, as opposed the hitherto prevailing Bavarian, Prussian, Saxon, etc. The protection of an opposition on an honest national basis, but the annihilation of

Marxism, especially communism, the goal of which are in every respect opposed to what is considered as valuable in political, ethical and religious matters.

2. Protection of German economics in its three main representatives, *viz.* peasants, labourers and intellectuals. A revision of the current trade treaties which will put a stop to unnecessary imports but will stimulate the vital imports is the first step towards this goal.

3. Recovery of the German currency: (a) through strict economy in the administration. A part of this is the reform of the German constitution, which will do away with costly Diets, State governments and their ministers, separate offices, etc., and their replacement by an economical central government. The first step towards this goal have been taken already by appointing central commissioners to the various states like Saxony, Bavaria, etc. It is self-understood that the valuable national properties of the various German clans will be safeguarded.

b. Decrease of the intolerable interests on domestic and foreign loans and the adoption of the rates which are generally current in the worlds money market. (It should be noted that the world market changes now-a-days a discount of 1 to 3%, whereas Germany pays 8 to 10%, on foreign loans). Cancellation of all such foreign debts which are ethically unfounded, *i. e.*, reparations.

c. The state control of such banks which are already subsidised by the government. By an effective control, that part of the German industry which deserves it, can be given greater facilities, thereby leading to the recovery.

4. The creation of a German state which enjoys equal rights with all other countries in a peaceful way.

These short outlines are generally speaking the oft condemned programme of the Nazis. The question whether republic or monarchy which plays such an important part in the Anglo-Indian press is of no importance whatever to the movement itself. As soon as the country gets back its sovereignty, it will decide later on whether or not it wants to be ruled by a President or a Kaiser. For the present difficult times, this question is purely secondary. The programme also does not contain any aggressive war policy. The war veterans who are the leading brains in the movement know from their own bitter experience what a modern war really means and they would never agree to throw their own nation again into such a turmoil unless pressed to it and that also for defending the national existence only.

In our times when there is a continuous babble about service to humanity, about a pan-European realisations, about the overthrow of narrow-minded nationalism, it has to be remembered that with very few exceptions, a single individual cannot do any service to humanity, which, after all, is nothing but a combination of the multitude of all nations on the earth; but that only a nation which develops its particular properties, gifts, etc., can do service to the general humanity.

Humanity is to be compared to a family. If all the sons of a family are efficient men, one a businessman, the other a scientist, the third a priest and the fourth an artist, the family will gain in honour and in wealth. If one of the sons is a gambler and a bankrupt, the fame of the family will diminish. The same applies to humanity in its international relations. Only free nations who can develop their own gifts can carry humanity on to a higher level; but not the slaves, be they individuals or nations. A strong and a proud people will always respect another free nation. And a League of Nations based on equal rights is the only one which will have any prospect for the future.

The misleading articles in the Anglo-Indian press which discuss nothing but the possibility of the restoration of the Kaiser, of an aggressive policy against France, of riots and maltreating of Jews are mostly fed by a general world propaganda against Hitler and his movement, which has its root in the fact that the international high finance and the international press are alike controlled by the Jews. The fact that Hitler's programme contains certain antisemitic points, in as much as he wants to put the Jews in Germany in their proper place which they have left after the revolution by gaining an undue control over government, universities, in the press and in the cultural life of the people has given rise to the said propaganda. The anti-semiticism of the Hitler movement is built on the results of a calm racial research and simply accepts the fact that the Jews under the Zionistic movement have declared themselves as a separate nation. If this is accepted, and there is no reason not to do so, then the Jews have to live in Germany like the members of other nations, as aliens; they can safely go after their own vocation, but have no right to control the national life of the country they live in.

Never was peace more endangered than in these days. In the Far East blazes open warfare and the Russian army stands by on the frontiers of Manchuria to safeguard what they believe to be their inherited possession. This gives Poland a free hand against its own old enemy, Germany, and already Polish troops have taken temporary

possession of an essential part of Danzig, which, after all, is still a German town. The French take the opportunity of the rising national movement in Germany to cry out again for their own safety and to declare that the same is endangered as it was in 1914, and their skillful propaganda tries to bring the same nations which joined hands in 1914 again in arms against Germany. It takes a lot of coolness to overcome these days without letting the guns go loose. The world's press should realise the responsibility which is theirs, and reject articles which are prejudiced against a country which, after all, is doing nothing else but putting its own house in order.

I find myself in full agreement with men of the highest repute and ripest judgment in academic circles, when I maintain that the University must be free from external control over range of subjects of study and methods of teaching and research. We have to keep it equally free from trammels in other directions—political fetters from the State, ecclesiastical fetters from religious corporations, civic fetters from the community and pedantic fetters from what may be called the corporate repressive action of the University itself. University must have the fullest independence and the amplest powers in working out its intellectual salvation. There need be no anxiety as to the future of the university if a constitution is wisely planned on these principles, and the exercise of power is entrusted to academic bodies composed of qualified persons—not so large in size as to lose in efficiency, yet large enough to prevent degeneration into intellectual cliques: neither eternally unchangeable so as to resist all progress, not nor so rapidly changing as to destroy continuity, yet varying sufficiently from time to time to prevent the dominance of personal policies; and finally, representative enough to be in touch alike with the experience of the past, the needs of the present and the aspirations of the future.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee in his Convocation Speech, 1923.

GERMANY THROUGH THE AGES *

By SUDHINDRA K. DUTT, M.A. (Oxon.)

Calcutta.

The rise of Adolf Hitler and the Nazis has once more drawn the attention of the world to Germany. The publication of Herr Pinnow's work is, therefore, very opportune. It deals with the history of Germany from 911 to 1930 A. D. But it is not a mere political history of the country; the historian is chiefly concerned with the daily life and work of the people leading up through social upheavals and intellectual expansion to the present position of the state. The book, therefore, deals with the economic, social, literary and cultural history of Germany as well.

It is always an advantage to have the history of a country written by one of its own nationals. It enables the historian to appreciate properly the sentiments and views of a country on controversial matters. We in India learn history through English books, and we necessarily imbibe the English point of view. Books like Herr Pinnow's remind us that there are two aspects to every question and that seekers after truth cannot ignore the one and prize the other.

The story of Germany through the ages has been that of a long struggle of an ancient and civilised people for union, which, however, it failed to achieve until 1871. The casual reader may wonder why the German monarch failed to unite the nation while Western Europe (notably France, England, Spain, and Sweden) were welded into powerful states under their respective sovereigns. The answer is to be found in the failure of the kings to check the powerful princes of the kingdom. While Henry VII in England brought the turbulent barons under control, Richelieu in France crushed the nobility and reduced it to complete subjection under the crown, the German Emperors were compelled to make concession after concession to the vassal princes, until they became uncontrollable. In the end one of such powerful princes, the Elector of Brandenburg (later on King of Prussia) overshadowed the Emperor even and finally founded a German Empire under his own suzerainty.

In 911 A. D. Germany liberated herself from the Carolingian empire and a Frankish Duke was elected king. After his death the Saxon Duke Henry was chosen king, and he succeeded in gaining the homage of all the tribes. "These events revealed the will of the scattered German people to form one corporate whole; they laid the foundation of the German State and may be regarded as the beginning of German history." Henry's successor Otto founded a united kingdom by subduing the dukes and forming an alliance with the Church. He reached the acme of his glory when in '62 he along with his consort received the imperial crown at the hands of the Pope in Rome. Henceforth the German monarch became also the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, *i.e.*, the Western Empire, while the Byzantine Emperor held sway in the East. The Empire of the Caesars had vanished, the Empire of Charlemagne had become a memory of the past, and it was the Holy Roman Empire which

* A Book Review. *History of German People and State through a Thousand Years* by Hermann Pinnow. Translated from the German by Mabel Brailsford. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. 12s. 6d.

now claimed to carry on the traditions of Roman imperialism in Western Europe. The monarchs of such a glorious Empire could not be expected to limit their activities in Germany alone; in consonance with their importance they must wield their influence over the whole of Western Europe. Italy and Rome in particular had formed the basis of the earlier Roman Empire, the acquisition of Rome and Italy, therefore, became the prime objects of the Emperors' policy. This absorption in foreign affairs and the consequent expeditions to Italy necessarily led to the neglect of domestic affairs, so that the princes were allowed to grow unchecked. The process was still further encouraged by the necessity of the Emperors for appealing constantly to the princes for men and money.

"... for centuries German blood was poured out like water upon the Italian battle-fields, while the effort to achieve their distant aims made the emperors incapable of fulfilling their immediate tasks—those of uniting the German people and of obtaining room for their expansion in the East."

This aggressive Italian policy of the German kings was specially ill-considered in view of the dangers that lay nearer home. The barbaric Hungarian hordes were frequently knocking at the gates of Germany, while to the East was rising Poland—a power that was destined to play a large part in German history.

In the 11th century the Empire came into violent conflict with the Papacy. "The papacy and the empire had been raised on the foundations of the Roman world-empire." They had hitherto acted in concert to the mutual benefit of one another. But between the 9th and 10th centuries there was a fervent monastic revival throughout Europe. A wave of religious enthusiasm flowed over the Continent—a movement which finally culminated in the Crusades. The Papacy itself could not remain unaffected. Hildebrand, who was controlling the policy of the Popes, aimed not only at freeing the Church from temporal authority but wanted to place the Church above the State. "In his conception the church was set above the secular power by the same law which makes the soul master of the body." When he was raised to Saint Peter's throne as Pope Gregory VII, he soon quarrelled with the Emperor Henry IV over the question of "lay investitures." Henry took up the challenge in right earnest, but when he found his throne in danger he made the humiliating "journey to Canossa" and made an abject submission to the Pope. The conflict was finally ended in the time of his successor by the compromise of the Concordat of Worms (1122). The king's difficulty was the princes' opportunity, and they managed to increase their powers further at this time.

Frederick Barbarossa (1152-90) of the Hohenstaufen family revived kingly power by re-establishing the alliance with the bishops in Germany, and by crushing the rebellious Henry the Lion. But the exigencies of his forward Italian policy made him propitiate the princes. Nevertheless his strong personality held the powerful princes in check and Germany enjoyed a period of unparalleled peace and prosperity. With his tragic death in Cilicia in the Third Crusade this controlling hand disappeared, and though his son was able to meet the danger from a combination of princes and foreign powers, under his successors disappeared "what the Saxon emperors had achieved, the Salians maintained and Frederick Barbarossa worked into new life—the unity of the German people and their importance as a world-power."

The fall of the Hohenstaufen meant the end of the Western Empire. Nations in the modern sense of the word began to rise; France, England, Spain and the Scandinavian countries began to

develop, but in Germany the central government was split up into a number of separate states. The three centuries (1200-1500) have been called the period of disintegration; they were marked by the growth of princely power, the rise of the townsmen, the establishment of the Hapsburgs as emperors and the rise of the Hohenzollerns. The sovereignty of the princes was legally recognised. The seven electoral princes came to be distinguished from the rest and their power was further strengthened by the Golden Bull of 1356. The Emperor gradually lost much of his importance and became *primus inter pares*. "The empire became a federal government; Bismarck himself was to found the empire upon the union of the federal states. The internal government of the German States at the present day has its roots in the thirteenth century, and has been evolved from the sovereignty of princes." The princes however had no feeling of patriotism in them; their self-aggrandisement formed the only basis of their policy, and they thus proved to be the greatest stumbling-block to national union.

The rule of the Hapsburgs in Germany may be said to have begun with the election of Albert II as Emperor in 1437 and the imperial crown became hereditary in the line until the disruption of the Empire at the time of Napoleon. Once only were their claims challenged, *e.g.*, by Charles Albert of Bavaria but the Hapsburgs came out victorious in the end.

From the beginning of the 16th century to the middle of the 17th, Germany was distracted by religious strife. Martin Luther, son of a German peasant, raised the banner of revolt against catholicism and Papacy. His protests had repercussions not only in Germany but all over Europe. In Germany religious wars broke out and were only ended by the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) which enunciated the doctrine of "*cujus regio ejus religio*" (He who owns the land owns the creed). Thus in Germany religious differences went still further to strengthen the hands of the princes, who were allowed to dictate religion to their subjects. In other European countries there were one all-powerful state and one religion; dissenters were either not tolerated or, if tolerated, were not allowed to undermine the power of the State. In England Henry VIII and Elizabeth established Protestantism on a uniform basis and rigorously punished any deviation from established religion, in France Cardinal Richelieu razed the Huguenot stronghold of La Rochelle to the ground and crushed the political power of Huguenots while granting them religious toleration, but the German emperor, Charles V, failed singularly to establish a uniform church under his control.

In the latter half of the 17th century Louis XIV of France held the centre of the political stage of Europe. The aggrandisement of the Bourbons and of France was the mainspring of his policy, and he therefore came into collision with the Empire and other European States. In the several wars German princes fought on opposite sides just as their dynastic ambition suited them. "During the stormy period between the Peace of Westphalia and the Congress of Vienna, the fate of Germany, was determined by the ambition of the princes working in concert or in opposition." Of all the States Brandenburg-Prussia came out of the struggle stronger than before and the victory of the young Prussian army over Swedish veterans at Fehrbellin made it deservedly famous. In 1701 the Duke of Prussia was made a king by the Emperor.

The 18th century in German history is marked by the steady growth of Prussia. The Great Elector (in the last century) and Frederick the Great were unremitting in their efforts to consolidate her power. They created a powerful army and made the government autocratic and militaristic. Prussia was able to wrest Silesia out of Austria's hands and she came out

of the ordeal of the Seven Years' War with renewed prestige. The infamous partitions of Poland enabled her to join East Prussia to the rest of her dominions. The Napoleonic Wars had a deep effect on German history. A large number of petty states disappeared, only 39 states survived the struggle. This reduction was highly beneficial to Germany as it made the task of uniting the country easier. The Holy Roman Empire was dissolved in 1806 when the Confederation of the Rhine was formed with Napoleon as its protector. Some South and Western German States joined it and they declared their independence of the Emperor. Prussia though severely defeated at Jena and Auerstadt was recreated by the labours of Stein, Hardenberg and Scharnhorst. Her humiliation roused a wave of nationalism in the country and Germany fought the War of Liberation which culminated in the Battle of Leipzig. The invincible Napoleon was defeated and the allied troops entered Paris in triumph. At Waterloo it was the timely appearance of the Prussians under Blücher that turned the scales against the French.

The settlement that followed however took no count of the feeling of nationalism. A Confederation of the Princes was established in Germany; the federal diet composed of plenipotentiaries of the states met at Frankfort under the presidency of Austria. The princes began a mad orgy of reaction in which they were encouraged by the Diet.

Prussia had received large territories by the Peace of Paris and she now became the rival of Austria in Germany. All the efforts of Austria were therefore directed towards checking Prussia and drawing the south German states to herself. Prussia however laid the foundations of her future greatness by forming the Zollverein (customs-union) under her presidency.

1848 was the year of revolutions in Europe and disorders broke out in many German States. The princes were compelled to yield to the popular demand for liberal constitutions. Metternich, the high-priest of reaction in Europe, had to flee from Vienna and Berlin also fell into the hands of revolutionaries. A parliament of the German people met at Frankfort to devise a constitution for Germany but its prolonged labour came to nothing.

The German Empire was the creation of Bismarck. His aim was the unification of non-Austrian Germany under Prussia. He dealt a crushing blow to Austria in the Austro-Prussian War and thus definitely established Prussian supremacy in Germany. The first step towards the unification of Germany was the North German Confederation. A federal authority was established with the King of Prussia at its head. The South German states entered the Zollverein in 1867, the customs parliament thus forming the common meeting-ground of the North and the South. In the Franco-Prussian War the Southern states fought side by side with Prussia and by their entry into the Confederation made possible the foundation of the long-cherished united German Empire (1871).

This Empire lasted till the end of the War in 1918. After the abdication of the Kaiser a republic was proclaimed. The Weimar constitution also recognised the federal principle and rejected the unitary system. There are 2 houses of legislature as of old, the Reichsrat (in place of Bundesrat) representing the States and the Reichstag the people.

Such in outline is the history of Germany. The story of 1000 years has been pressed into 450 pages and facts are necessarily compressed. Thus the Thirty Years' War has been dealt with in 4½ pages in which Richelieu is mentioned only once. But it is the great merit of Pinnow's book that it does not omit a single detail that is important in German

history. The book is an admirable one for general readers as it is not overburdened with dates and the outline is always clear.

The history is of course not free from defects. The effect of the Polish insurrection of 1863 on European politics for example is not properly appreciated. Again, Marshal Bazaine's treachery at Metz is not mentioned; it is now incontrovertible that Bazaine was more loyal to Napoleon III than to France and that Bismarck exploited the situation and used him for his own purposes.

People would find it difficult to agree with Herr Pinnow's views on the policy of ex-Kaiser William II, but I refrain from commenting thereon as the events are too recent and the passions roused by them have not yet died down.

The book on the whole has been admirably well-written and the general reader, unacquainted with the history of mediaeval and modern Europe, will be able to gain a comprehensive knowledge of German history from a perusal of this work. Miss Mabel Brailsford deserves the thanks of all for placing it at our disposal by her translation. It is no small tribute to her skill that a charming style has been preserved throughout the book and nowhere are we reminded that we are reading a translated version and not the original of the book.

HOW FAR "SESH PRASNA" IS A COUNTERPART OF "GORA"

—By RAMESH CHANDRA GANGULI, B.L.

Calcutta.

The genius of Sarat Chandra, the delightful story-writer and author of those inimitable little sketches of Bengalee life *Ramer Sumati*, *Bindur Chele* and *Candranath* flowered into a robust and yet challenging romanticism in his bigger volumes, *Charitrahin*, *Debdas*, *Grihadaha*, etc. Without leaving behind the real, his penetrative vision and sharply analytic intellect have pulled out of the compl ex heap of social phenomena that which obstructs the ideal in its process of being the actual. Like Tolstoy and Hamsun his courageous mind received the actual in its sterling nakedness from which others would easily shut their eyes away and looked for the beautiful and peaceful amidst the uglinesses and defects of human life. His spirit is essentially scientific in this respect, fearing nothing in the bold search for the truths of the human mind and his giant heart has gladly shared the sufferings of his creations.

The epoch-making *Charitrahin* saw him spread himself on a larger canvas and rap at the door of the literature with a bold, persistent and, after all, overpowering knock. The agreeable and modest story-writer of early days thumped himself rather forcibly on cultural Bengal and turned the currents of thought by the impulses of his own mind and the magic of his writing. He laid himself inside out on the pages of his novels and crammed them full with his own observations and experiences and brought along a trail of sensuousness in them, out of his own hypersensitive and subtle imaginative nature and presented to society nice little problems for solution, by setting up his doubts and questions against some of its age-old conventions. *Charitrahin* marks the advent of a series of complex novels by Chatterjee and in its wake, after an indicative flutter in *Father Dabi* comes in a sudden break his new sensation, *Sesh Prasna* with its probing analysis of the accepted fundamentals of society.

It is now sometime back, I secured a copy of the book and went through its entertaining pages. The academic discourses running at times to tiresome length on ethical questions hold you interested and afford you a treat of intellectual fare. The ancient conventions of society, more particularly of the Hindus, are brought out and ranged and made to stand a rigid test of strict ethic as to their real worth or otherwise. The story moves slowly under its domination and the characters are there, more for the purpose of stretching the ethical principles to their utmost, for affording a fuller debate and a more elaborate and assiduous test, than for anything else. They congregate and discuss and make a perfect debating club to establish the primary truths of life's pervading ethics. A nasty expression that—"a debating club"—but yet that sticks to the group most happily, much in the same way as it is applicable to the other intellectual group that constitutes Rabindranath's novel *Gora*.

And for the matter of fact, to my way of thinking, *Sesh Prasna* bears an unmistakable family likeness to the great *Gora*. I do not

mean to minimise in the least the gigantic powers of the author of *Sesh Prasna* when I say that to me the book appeared to be to some extent a counterpart of the other, with, of course, minor differences of details. It has been represented on behalf of its author that he bestowed his very best care and thought in bringing it out. The book certainly does reveal the clever artist at every turn and whatever truth there might be as to whether or not it has any basic resemblance with another gem of Bengalee literature, its excellence is both impressive and striking.

And yet the perusal of *Sesh Prasna* recalls rather forcibly the memory of the other book. It is unavoidable, for it forces itself on you with the logic that underlies all literary production. Both have common characteristics. In both the fabric employed is the primary truths of social ethic. The little love-plays are overshadowed by an over-zealous effort at arriving at the great principles. This forms the *modus operandi* of character representation in both instances, while the two authors simply stride through the pages fearlessly, on accepted conventions of life, with a confident foot and a scarcely hidden sneer, and mock and preach for the benefit of society in vigorous, forceful and analytical language.

The *Sesh Prasna* is by no means the last, final, culminating question that might worry mankind for a true solution of life's primal problems. It is, in fact, a set of questionnaire on proper conduct in society, a disquisition into its accepted practices by the beautiful and mocking, free-thinking and shrewd little heroine Kamal by all her talks and doings. It is this dominating little personality that mocks at society's conventions and exposes their innate and meaningless stupidity and sets out her own canons of ethic for better guidance and culture.

And yet she looks in broad details but a counterpart—a female counterpart—of the hero in Rabindranath's novel. Much of the innate and offensive obduracy which gives a peculiar grace to Rabindranath's hero, is of course palliated in his female replica.

A certain bluntness and a wholesome disregard for cheap formality that give a distinct trait to Gora from the others are mellowed down to fit in his female counterpart. Both alike have an unlimited fund of courage to speak out their conviction, while the uncompromising vigour in Gora is reflected in Kamal in a proportionately steady placidity, which makes her as supremely unbending as the other, so that nothing—neither love nor self-interest—can make her budge an inch from a position she takes. A woman's instinct—always a subtle thing—is her own natural asset and sets her off at a decided advantage over the mere male. Kamal in reading the peculiar humour of a situation strikes you as a shrewder judge but there is not much difference in their methods when they feel inclined to pique the vanity of a fellow being.

Gora's first visit to Paresh Babu's house is poignant in its interest. He had warned his friend Benoy against its poisonous influence. The free association with girls who do not fail to tinge the atmosphere there by their own personal attraction of both appearance and accomplishment with a superintending mother overhead, is very much after the manner of white people and as such is loathed by the aggressively Hindu mind of Gora. He chooses a deliberate make-up for the occasion and looks as though he is an embodiment of rebellion against the very times and by his manners he makes them all feel it. He holds his own by the curtness and the uncompromising character of his argument and shatters the tender aristocracy of the place ruthlessly and mops its "cob-webby" refinement by his cutting sneer against anti-Hinduism.

It did not take long for Kamal to scent an air of superior aristocracy in Monorama when she was playing the hostess to her when Kamal was directed into their household after a heavy drenching outside. The embarrassment was obvious in Monorama and she was at a loss how properly to accost her beautiful guest, the wife of the cultured Shibnath and the widowed, illiterate daughter of a maid-servant. Kamal's vulgar pose as an uncultured, low-class woman with shockingly bad manners, was as deliberate as it was roguish and is reminiscent of Gora's insolent entry into Paresch Babu's house. Saucily she demands for a new cake of soap and, with no decency about her, tells to the face of her hostess that she cannot accept her used soap,—that she feels a wholesome loathing against such an article—and clinches the whole thing by saying: "That way you bring on ailment."

Both hold truth very dear to their heart and nothing galls them more than a lie. The sorest grief with Kamal when Shibnath deserted her was that he feared and avoided truth. The scene when Shibnath was feigning illness and was lying at the Asram and Kamal had gone there with a view to nurse him may be recalled here:

".....After a long silence Shibnath asked 'Who did you learn from that I bear no relation to you? Do people report and put it down to me as having disclaimed any?' Kamal made no answer. Presently she broke her silence as she herself put the question—'Even though I could not believe that you did not marry me, you certainly knew that you did not: why then did you not tell me so when you left me? Is it because you apprehended that I might hold you on to me and create nuisance with my cries and entreaties and would dash my head against the floor by way of a final beseeching supplication? You knew right well that, that was not my nature.' "

Gora felt immensely hurt and mortified when he found his friend avoiding simple truth and seeking to hide his clandestine visits to Paresch Babu's house. The whole was altogether too much for him and although his heart bled, he would not see or have any thing to do for days together with his dearest pal, who was more than a brother to him.

Kamal's passion for truth made it easy for her to disclose to the listening Ajit her own shameful genesis in simple naivety and naked revulsion. The sympathetic words of caution of the materialistic Abinash drew out from her a blunt response which had about it a scarcely disguised cloak of righteous indignation. She felt palpably provoked and turned suddenly to Ashu Babu and spoke rather petulantly, as though she was making a passionate appeal to him:

"Look here now and see how grievously wrong it is on the part of Abinash Babu." She pointed to Shibnath and continued on— "And he would go the length of disowning me and, on my part, would I have, perforce, with a strangle-hold on his throat, make him own me up? Is it that truth will get drowned? And shall I, who flatly refuse recognition of a mere convention, have it employed as a string to hold him with? And me to do all this? " Her eyes were glowing as she spoke."

There are various other traits of character common to them both, altogether too numerous to enumerate them all here. In the assiduity of their purpose, both do not in the slightest brook any hardship and physical discomfort. About them both there is a certain fearlessness and a spontaneous and live sympathy for the suffering poor. Kamal, tender and beautiful as she is, causes genuine concern in the minds of her friends by the way she applies herself in tending to the sick in the squalid *bustees* while Gora undergoes a term of imprisonment for fighting against the

injustice done to poor people. In them both there burns a genuine fire of patriotism. Kamal does not in the least fear harbouring a selfless youth—a suspected revolutionary—whose steps are dogged and shadowed by the police in their best approved fashion when the Asram doors are shut on him.

The external environments of the two also bear a remarkable similitude. To start with, in either case the father is a white man and the striking attributes of the two have been sought to be traced to the European blood that coursed in their veins.

The rebel in Kamal against society's accepted conventions has been explained in more places than one, mainly due to the foreign blood in her and her whole character is the direct and natural upshot of her early training at the hands of her father and her own position in society. It is this foreign blood which helps them both to dominate over the others.

Brought up in a Hindu home, under the fostering care and indulgence of a generous and kindly lady, who in the literal sense is more than a mother to him, Gora is made to betray the trait of the European blood that is in him by his robust and unflagging loyalty to the institutions which he believes to be his own, his general forceful bearing and by the fact of his being a mighty man of action, while other indicative factors in him pointing towards the same thing are his peculiar build and features; the unredeeming whiteness of his complexion and his bodily prowess which measured well in excess of the average in a Bengalee.

Kamal imbibed all the iconoclastic influence of his Christian father and, picking up her experience from an early age from life's treacherous shoals, developed a spirit of cynicism and so mocked all arrangements and make-shifts by society however old and trustworthy they might be, as being too deceitful to command respect. She was no nursery-product and did not grow up in the ordinary way with a load of ready-made set of ideas and beliefs. She came to know her world in a realistic process in many a hard encounter against it. A whimsical fate had brought her into the world and made her confront stern life quite early and with it face grim truth in all its overpowering realisation. The unmitigated practical character of the Westerner whose blood runs in her veins, helps her realise her own philosophy of life which she propounds as follows:

"Neither happiness nor sorrow is real, the only reality lies in their quivering moments and in the rhythm in which they depart. True possession consists in accepting these both heart and soul."

This philosophy of the flux—the constant change in which the world is presented to us—is as old as Buddha and Heraclitus, and revived by the French Philosopher Bergson. The real challenge is to find out the actual amidst the hopeless tangle of the everchanging—permanent or transitory whatever it might be—the sum total of which makes the reality of existence. Philosophers vainly tried to catch it and to preserve it before them, but such is the nature of the real that it constantly transforms itself into the past and lives only in memory. Kamal's difficulty lies in diagnosing the ever-shifting elements of truth in the lap of the real. We understand it when we see it as a whole in the unity of the manifold colours and constituents of the Universe and that whole view is Philosophy. Parts may deceive us, yet when we can survey the totality in its unbroken, undissipated wholeness, we may get a glimpse of truth and there lies peace for the restless spirit of mankind. Perfection we can never attain to but the spirit of perfection is our salvation.

The European blood has in either instance been sought as being responsible for all that helps Gora and Kamal to dominate over their

colleagues—mere children of the soil. I do not know if the reader suspects in these efforts a touch of inferiority complex that the White must as a rule prevail over the Coloured and must of necessity be the emporium or treasure-house of all that is bold and dashing, good and sterling and have brains that are more incisive and clear in the expert divination of truth and altogether show a character more lovable and overpowering than could be accommodated in a coloured frame.

I do not know if these instances serve only to remind him of the cheap sentiment of the rather meek Indian, serving out his life's tenure as a bondsman, clustering round the white man in simple adoration, and whether if they make him think of the crowd that collects on a public street when a European is involved in a motor-car break-down and each and every benevolent man becomes mighty anxious to receive a little behest from the white god and feels flattered beyond himself over his stroke of good luck should any come his way.

The notion, the critic might argue, is getting simply opprobrious and he might jolly well wring his hands in despair if he finds that the best writers in the country suffer from the same obsession as the modest commoner and as a consequence mould their heroes and heroines in the damning casts of foreign superiority. The critic will have his own justification if he makes a show of the other product of the Christian home, Mrs. Robinson and people of her ilk, who trade and swell upon the natural gullibility of wealthy Indians.

Neither do I know, if the reader feels inclined to be indulgent in the case of Rabindranath, as he is the produce of an earlier age when English education and culture had swept many a brilliant man off his feet. But even then the domineering hectoring Gora at times heeded a little check but what of Kamal? Nothing bides with her. She is too placidly unbending.

How would her readers approve of her author in these days of national consciousness? A daughter of a European planter and an unchaste but beautiful Bengalee widow, herself the widow of an Assamese Christian and later on the consort of Shibnath—a professor dismissed from service for low morals—her heretical dissertations against society's accepted usages might again appear to some as trifle too baffling. The little she had by way of an early training from her father and the biological principle of blood giving shape to character, have been sought to explain for the evident miracle in her. But does that carry conviction? And again a critic might feel inclined to ask—"Is it that the Westerner does not believe in the social institutions like marriage? Evidently, Kamal goes one better and is assuredly an improvement on even Lord Henry Wootan in Oscar Wilde's, "The Picture of Dorian Grey." What is the natural secret in her? Does Biology throw any light on the innate tendencies of a hybrid?

But this is all simple deviation. To continue on with our theme—*The important group that hems round Gora is the girls in the Brahmo home of Paresch Babu and his boyhood chum Binoy. The ring round his female counterpart, must of necessity be menfolk. Broadly speaking, the incident, acknowledging it to be an accident, is somewhat striking.*

With Gora's own advancement in the story, the poor old Binoy recedes away. Shibnath, like Benoy, introduces the story in a quite pleasant fashion. They both introduce the principals on the stage and then, gradually through stages, sink and lose ground.

At their first meeting, Gora by his manners and arguments raises a feeling of mighty revulsion in the cultured and intelligent Suchorita who

despite this, felt attracted towards this stranger youth. In the case of the cultured Ajit, the same remark applies when he was confronted by Kamal in their first two meetings. Suchorita yields to Gora eventually and so does Ajit to Kamal. The sedate, inoffensive, accommodative and indulgent Ashu Babu reminds one of similar character-traits in Paresh Babu. Monorama is as keenly hostile to Kamal as Lalita is affectedly unconcerned over Gora. Monorama seeks to gall her rival by winning her husband over, while Lalita seems to spite the vaunted friendship between Gora and Benoy by capturing the latter. Viewing broadly even the boorishly blunt Akshay has something in common with the blustering Panu Babu. The others congregate and feel helpless before the force of Kamal and Gora and the end comes in a mighty jerk in total dissolution in both instances.

The Brahmo Rabindranath brings them all into the common fold of the universal Brahmoism which rises above everything sectarian and ends all conflict of blood and descent, of convictions and usages of society thereby. The heretic in Sarat Chandra against society's accepted codes of living brought his story to a close by making her heroine prevail over the others who are forever badly shaken in faith.

Abinash takes on another wife, Harendra closes down his favourite Asram, the robust loyalty of Ashu Babu to his dead wife receives a rude shaking up, while even the incorrigible puritan in Akshoy undergoes an internal melting and betrays a colossal change and startles Kamal herself by making a piteous appeal to her to pay him a visit if ever she came back and to kindly remember him. The poor fellow is mightily humbled and presents his catalogue of utter helplessness with a wife with no pretensions to either beauty or culture, who at the age of nine was introduced into the family on the choice of her husband's father and has applied herself wholly to the daily cooking and the odd religious little functions that go on eternally by the dates on a calendar month, her own worship and prayer, and for ever looked upon her husband as the god of her life and beyond and refused taking any medicine when sick and argued that the water with which she bathed her husband's feet was good as a cure in all cases and if it failed, explained it by saying that the wife was destined to die. He cannot help disclosing to her the distressing feeling of wretched loneliness that possesses his mind at times.

In broad outlines and in the general framing up the two books show plans that lap and cover each other rather remarkably and if there be prominent deviations they serve to heighten the likeness all the more.

Anandamayee has no replica in the latter book while Nilima is a clear deviation and as a problem is an old favourite with Sarat Babu, who more than anybody else, has exposed the many outrages that woman have for long been suffering at the hands of society. The widow certainly presents a throbbingly delicate problem and betwixt her niche of respect in the family and the helpless status of a parasite living in squalid misery, neglect, ignominy and humiliation, with hope and all prospect of anything sweet shattered completely out of her the distance is not great.

Nilima is a hopeless tangle and while everyone will be acutely touched by the tenderness of her problem, her startling love for the decrepit and middle-aged Ashu Babu is more like an aberration than an ordered result of nature and is more strange than Harry Esmond's union with the mother of his jilting sweet-heart Beatrice.

After all has been said, it still remains for the critic to bring himself before those forces and cross-currents of culture that have formed the spiritual background of these two great creative artists of Bengal and also the manifold reaction of their titanic minds together with their own

PRODUCTION OF SOLAR EVAPORATION SALT OR KURKUTCH IN BENGAL

By KALIPADA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

Principal, D. J. College, Monghyr.

In an article under the above heading published in the October issue of this journal Mr. Binaybhusan Das Gupta observes that the statement of Mr. Pitt made in his *Report on the Possibilities of Salt Production in Bengal*, 1932, Chapter II, para. 7, viz. "Scrutiny of the history of salt manufacture in Bengal and Orissa reveals the fact that on the coast of Bengal, salt has never been manufactured by the process of solar evaporation," is probably incorrect.

In the record room of the Collector of Cuttack there are 24 volumes of Salt Department Letters issued between 1806 and 1866 (the number of letters being 5,709) and 29 volumes of Salt Department Letters received between 1806 and 1859 (the number of letters being 4,694), in that of the Commissioner of Cuttack, 13 volumes, and in that of the Collector of Balasore, 23 volumes, relating to the manufacture of salt. I examined them casually and took only stray notes, and from these I am giving the relevant information in this note.

In Vol. IV of Letters, letter No. 574, dated the 28th March, 1816, there is a reference to the claim of the priests of the sanctuary of Jagernaut for *kurkutch* salt produced from the Chilka Lake. In letter No. 664 there is a reference to "the exportation of Cuttack salt from the Chilka Lake to Sulkea." In a letter (serial No. 883) dated the 12th May, 1820, addressed to the Commissioner, the Salt Agent reported that "the manufacture of *kurkutch* salt at Lake Chilka was obstructed by the fullness of the Lake and consequent flooding of the salt *char* owing to the shallowness of the bar" and recommended the opening of the old bar at Manickpatan.

In a letter (serial No. 1336), dated the 15th December, 1823, the Salt Agent requested his assistant, T. Becher, at Pooree to proceed to the Lake to attend to advances to the *Molunghees* and persuade them to adopt the *abrah* system in preference to the present mode, "for although their salt is whitish, yet as it contains sand, only the lowest class use it in food—salt of the colour of common earth is preferred and purchased at an advance of 25%" "ask them to avoid sand in preparing the *kiccarees* or evaporating pits—let them use dry-sifted earth or common ashes in beating and priming these pits instead of the present method of sprinkling dry sand over the clay—our *kurkutch* is only inferior to Madras Permit salt."

The substance of a letter (serial No. 1513) of the 23rd April, 1825, may be given thus below: Government did not like the manufacture of *kurkutch* salt at the Lake on account of its sandy character beyond the demand of the district and Sambalpur market. Mr. C. Becher, Salt Agent, submitted a proposal advantageous to Government without sacrificing the interests of thousands of poor *Molunghees* who had no other mode of obtaining livelihood.

There is a reference to *kurkutch* salt in a letter (serial No. 2465) of 21st April) 1832.

In a letter (serial No. 3182) of 1838 to the Commissioner the question is discussed "whether the discontinuance of the manufacture of *Abra* evaporation salt would promote the consumption of *Punga*."

In letter No. 1157 is mentioned a salt named "Cuttack Juggernaut Pershaud *kurkutch*," haul "*dooyam*" (first and second qualities.)

Letters received, serial No. 595 of 27th July, 1819, has a reference to *kurkutch* salt.

Serial No. 4012 (letter No. 60) of 5th August, 1854, para. 7: "Chilka Lake *aurungs* situated on north-east, east and south sides of the Chilka Lake—Bloosandpore and Hurridoss have, I believe, always produced *punga* salt, but in other *aurungs* between the Lake and the sea down to the Ganjam boundary the produce was generally *kurkutch*. *Punga* manufacture was introduced with difficulty by W. Dent in 1826, on the special condition that fuel and pots should be supplied by officers of Government..."

In the copy of a statement of salt sale in November 1834 at the Presidency we find mention, among other salts, of *abra kurkutch* and Gangasagore Solar Evaporation salts.

In the Balasore Record Room Vol. No. 22A (letters received by the Salt Agent, Northern Division, Cuttack, 1823-24) there is a copy of the statement of salt sale signed by R. Saunders, Secretary, Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, in September, 1824, in which we find the following :

	Quantity sold in mds.	Amounts produce in Sicca rupees.
Cuttack <i>punga</i> salt	53,000	1,99,800
Cuttack <i>kurkutch</i>	17,000	32,520

From the foregoing account it appears that in Orissa salt was produced by solar evaporation, and it was called *kurkutch* or *abra* (or *abra* evaporation salt) or *abra kurkutch*. At Gangasagore also salt was produced by solar evaporation. Owing to its inferior quality, the quantity produced was smaller than in the case of other kinds.

Miscellany

[*Italian Institute for Industrial Reconstruction* (B. K. SARKER)—*Land Reform and Cultivator's Interests in Germany* (B. K. SARKER)—*The Soviet State and the Problem of Disarmament* (B. K. SARKER)—*State Planning in Nazi Economy* (B. K. SARKER).]

ITALIAN INSTITUTE FOR INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION

At the meeting of the Council of Ministers held under the Presidency of the Head of the Government, a scheme, containing provisions for the establishment of an Institute for Industrial Reconstruction (*Istituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale*) was approved.

The new public corporation consists of two sections, the section for the Financing of Industry (*La Sezione Finanziamento Industriale*) and the Section of industrial demobilization (*Sezione Smobilizzazione Industriale*). The first of these supplements the work of the National Credit Institute (*Istituto Mobiliare Italiano*), by carrying out longer date operations in favour of private undertakings of Italian origin and solely for purposes of their reorganization on the technical, economic and financial sides. The second takes the place of the Institute of Liquidations (*Istituto di Liquidazione*), which is now suppressed. Each section has a legally independent existence, keeping its own accounts and owning separate funds.

The capital of the "*Sezione Finanziamento*" amounts to 100 million liras subscribed by the Deposits and Loans Bank, by the National Fund for Social Insurances and by the National Insurance Institute. This section has also the power to issue either inscribed or bearer bonds for a period of not less than 15 nor more than 20 years, repayable in proportion to the amount of the loans granted.

The Head of the Government and the Finance Minister have the authority to grant a State guarantee—though special decrees to be deposited with the Registration Court—for special series of bonds issued by the Institute whenever the Council of Ministers recognized that the corresponding operations effected thereby are of exceptional public interest.

The "*Sezione smobilizzazione industriale*" is successor in law to the *Istituto di Liquidazione*, now defunct. Hence there are transferred to it the original capital, the credits, the guarantees, the subscribed shares, the fees, the contributions, and all the privileges, rights and other prerogatives attaching to the Institute, as also all its liabilities. In addition, this section receives an annual subvention amounting to 85 million liras a year for a period of 20 years, beginning with the financial year 1933-34—*Rassegna Economica* (Naples).

LAND REFORM AND CULTIVATOR'S INTERESTS IN GERMANY

Socialists as a rule are more interested in industry and industrial workers than in agriculture and the cultivating class. With Hitler the attitude is quite the reverse. In his analysis the foundation of *Kultur* is to be found in the farmer and his activities. One of the most basic pieces of legislation under the Hitler regime has sought to protect the rights of the *Bauer* (cultivator) in the soil inherited by him. The taxation

on agricultural estates has been reduced.) The farmers are thereby enabled to keep to their holdings. The sales of lands by cultivators which used to be a regular feature in the social economy of Germany under the previous regimes have automatically diminished in number. An important provision of the new Act, which for the time being is binding on Prussia, runs to the effect that no ancestral property can be sold on account of debts due to taxation. It is further provided in a general manner that no farm can be mortgaged beyond a certain measure. Besides, the hindrances to the sale of inherited holdings are defined in a positive manner. An item that has bearing on the profitableness of agriculture as an occupation is furnished in the Act by which the middlemen are forbidden to enjoy more than a fixed percentage as profits on the sale of agricultural produce. Cultivation has thus been rendered economically more worth while to the cultivator and he has greater interest in clinging to his soil than heretofore.—*Voelkischer Beobachter* (Munich).

THE SOVIET STATE AND THE PROBLEM OF DISARMAMENT

On the 19th September, 1927, M. Stalin, talked with a delegation of American workmen. Answering a question in respect of possible forms of economic collaboration between the U. S. S. R. and other countries, M. Stalin said, "We are following a policy of peace and we are ready to join in an agreement on disarmament going as far as the complete abolition of permanent armies as we stated before the world at the Conference at Genoa." On the 5th August, 1928, M. Tchitcherin, Commissar of the People of Foreign Affairs, said to representatives of the press, "The fundamental object of Soviet international policy is the maintenance of peace. The proposition of our Government in respect to disarmament is a clear manifestation of that policy."

In an address on the 10th of December, 1928, M. Litvinov, now Commissar of Foreign Affairs said, "We are following this policy of peace not because of our weakness nor because of a feeling of sentimental pacificism, but because it is inherent in the very nature of the Soviet policy, because it corresponds to the interest of the masses of workers of the whole world."

On the 4th of December, 1929, M. Litvinov in a speech at the central Executive Committee of the U. S. S. R. explained the foreign policy of the country as follows: "The basis of that policy today, as twelve years ago when the Soviet State was born, is the defence of the accomplishments of the revolution of October against foreign aggression, the intention to guarantee peaceful conditions for the development at home of socialism, and to preserve the workers of the world from the horrors and the burden of war. The Five-Year Plan is an additional and entirely objective evidence of our pacific tendencies. We want peace to carry it through."

Since then the U. S. S. R. has carried out its first Five-Year Plan of socialistic reconstruction and is going ahead with the Second. The principles of this plan were explained at the last session of the Central Executive Committee of the Union by the President of the Council of Commissars of the People, M. Molotov. In that portion of his speech of the 28rd of January, 1933, which he devoted to the international relations of the U. S. S. R., M. Molotov recalled to his hearers "the special attention and the peculiar sensitiveness" manifested by the U. S. S. R. on questions of peace and disarmament. After mentioning the efforts of the U. S. S. R. at the Conference of Geneva, and especially

its propositions in February, 1932, the chief of the Soviet Government concluded: "In this proposal of the Soviet delegation was contained the expression of the aspiration toward universal peace not only on the part of the peoples of the Union but also of the peoples of other countries."

A last question is that of the practical value of the steady pressure of peace of the U. S. S. R. during the fifteen years of its "militant pacifism." The best answer to this question was given by M. Litvinov in his address on the 10th December, 1928, "The Government of the Soviets has rendered great services to the cause of peace since, thanks to its initiative, the problem of general and complete disarmament has been placed before the world for the first time. Although the problem has not been solved as yet, the fact that it has been clearly stated will stimulate enormously both the will for peace of the peoples and their efforts to assure it."—*International Conciliation (Carnegie Endowment)*, New York.

STATE-PLANNING IN NAZI ECONOMY

1. *Restriction of Machinery.* The campaign against unemployment has led economic statesmanship naturally also to combat the sinister aspects of rationalization and technocracy. (Machinery, labour-saving as it is, has never been an unmixed blessing) from the standpoint of workingmen ever since the epoch of the "first industrial revolution" in England. The intensified use of machinery and the inventions of super-machinery and higher class tools and implements such as constitute the chief element in the rationalization effected during the epoch of the "second industrial revolution" through which the capitalistic adults of the world and along with them the entire world-economy are passing, (are responsible in a great measure for the world depression and international unemployment.) The measures calculated to rationalize the rationalization process itself, i.e., to slow up the pace at which improved machineries are to be introduced have therefore been known for some time to be an effective remedy for the present ills.

(One such measure is embodied in the Nazi legislation in July 15, 1933, which forbids the installation of further machineries in the cigar industry.) The installation of new machineries has been saddled with restrictions. It is to be observed that this prohibitive and restrictive legislation has reference to those undertakings only which in the course of the last few years have, on account of mechanization, succeeded in weeding hand-work or cottage industries virtually out of existence. The losses to which the mechanized undertakings are likely to submit on account of the restrictions and prohibition are to be made good by the Government.

The Hitler measure, promoting economy as it does in the use of machinery, is not intended to be an item in the campaign of boycott against machinery, inventiveness, engineering skill, technology or industrialisation. (As indicated above, the legislation is designed simply to cry halt to the break-neck speed and the reckless manner in which machineries were being introduced in certain industries without reference to the social economy of the regions or classes affected thereby. Neither scientific discovery nor technical invention is in danger, nor is Nazi Germany going back to "pre-industrial" modes of production and distribution. The control of machinery or introduction of economy in the application of inventions by the combined industrial intelligence and will of the people is itself a factor in the latest phase of industrialization and

technocracy. It is as an index to this phase that Hitler's restrictions are to be understood.

2. *Trusts Curtailed.*—(It is with the same object of rationalizing the rationalization process that the Hitler regime has commenced curbing the excessive consolidation tendencies embodied in the latter-day cartels and trusts.) On July 15 the law has been modified in a manner that enables the Government without reference to the Indiciary to declare whether the concentration or amalgamation desired for in certain undertakings is prejudicial to the interests of workmen or consumers. In every business enterprise the limit is being thereby set to the size which it may be permitted to assume. Big "department stores" have already felt the pressure of the law and have been compelled to curtail their ambitions in regard to the enlargement of or addition to their different sections. In the interest of smaller restaurants, cafes, groceries, etc., which were being weeded out by large encyclopaedic establishments like the Wertheim, Tietz, Kadewe, etc., the latter have been deprived of the privilege of running the halls for food and drink. In all these instances the motive of Hitler statesmanship is not to penalize "large-scale production" as such but to progradatically hit upon just that size in business organization which is likely to yield the maximum of collective social welfare (*Gemeinwohl*) according to the circumstances of the moment or the region or the trade. One understands also that the abuse of over-capitalization or wastage involved in maldistribution of capital in diverse lines of investment is likely to be prevented by such a measure.

3. *The Control of Earnings.*—(Indeed, the restrictions in regard to the use of machinery, the curtailment of the right to cartelize and amalgamate at one's sweet will, the limitations imposed on the size of undertaking and amount of capital to be invested,—all these interferences with *laissez-faire* economy are to be taken together as one complex in the comprehensive campaign against unemployment.) As parts of the same campaign are to be taken the compulsory dismissals of married women from their posts and their replacement by unemployed husbands. Reduction of overtime work, the establishment of the 40-hour week and so forth belong likewise to the same complex.) It is in the same spirit of finding employment for every able-bodied person that nobody is permitted to have more than one occupation. "Multiple earnings" have been abolished by law.) Persons are even compelled to retire from their posts when it is found that they belong to families whose different members earn collectively more than is necessary for their total subsistence. The law against multiple earning is comprehensive enough to include earnings from annuities, pensions, subsidiary occupations, etc. Persons possessing such incomes, should they be substantial enough, are not permitted to enter the employment market as wage-earners.—*Technik und Wirtschaft* (Berlin).

B. K. SARKER

Reviews and Notices of Books

Amen: the Key of the Universe, by Leonard Bosman, The Dharma Press, 16, Oakfield Road, Clapton, London, E. 5.

This is a little book of a mystical type in which the author seeks to explain the fundamental principles of the Universe from the teachings of Eastern and Western philosophies, with special reference to the doctrine of Trinity as symbolised by the Egyptian Hebrew word *Amen* and the Sanskrit mystic syllable *Aum*. The one undifferentiated divine substance polarises itself into the active principle of Life or Spirit and the passive principle of Matter or Nature. These two polarised factors are linked up again or "affinitised" by the original divine substance. Hence we have a factor expressing Power or Energy symbolised by God the *Father* and another factor corresponding to Passivity and Plasticity appropriately expressed by a feminine symbol, the Virgin Mother. These two factors of one indivisible Reality are brought in *relation* by a third factor symbolised by the *sonship* of Christ Jesus. These three factors of the primordial Trinity may be slightly differently conceived. For instance, the third factor, *viz.*, the *Relation* may also be conceived as the Holy Ghost of orthodox Christianity, or as the *Fohat* of the Buddhist.

These three factors of the Trinity are symbolised by the three mystic letters A M N of the Hebrew word *Amen* and A U M of the Sanskrit syllable of *Om*. The author adduces an array of facts mainly philological in support of the above interpretation.

A mystical vein runs throughout the book. Mysticism is somewhat dogmatic: it may explain but never cares to argue; the mystic illumination is the personal inalienable, incommunicable possession of the mystic soul and can only be understood by another soul sympathetically attuned to it. What we appreciate in the author is his freedom from the narrow grooves of certain sects of Orthodox Christianity and consequently his better understanding of the wisdom of the East. Thus he shows a deeper penetration—deeper than perhaps Maxmuller—into the inner meaning of the mystic syllable *Om* as unravelled in the *Chhandogya Upanishad*.

A. N. MUKHERJEE

The Story of Oriental Philosophy, by L. Adams Beck (E. Barrington) Cosmopolitan Book Corporation, New York.

In this charming volume the author presents the elements of enduring value in Asiatic culture in language which is perfectly clear and at the same time faithful to the spirit of the great seers of the East. Written primarily for the readers of the West, the book will prove of absorbing interest and possibly of much instruction to many educated readers of the East. The author writes from first-hand knowledge of his subject, and his personal realization of the value of Oriental Philosophy is noticeable throughout the volume. The discrimination and critical insight

he has shown in his choice of material and the subtle, intellectual sympathy which underlies his mode of presentation will be envied by many expositors of Oriental Philosophy. He has the rare psychological gift of viewing his subject from the standpoint of the consciousness of the East and has consequently immensely succeeded in his task of evaluation of the culture evolved by that consciousness.

The first eight chapters deal with the germs of Indian Culture as latent in the *Vedas* and developed in the *Upanishads*, culminating in the Vedanta System of Sankara which is the highest stratum of thought attainable by human speculation. In this connection the author gives his personal appreciation of the *Yoga* Philosophy and concludes with some of the finest passages from the *Bhagavad Gita* or the Song Celestial, passages which embody spiritual truths of the deepest moment and attainable only by the higher consciousness.

Chapters IX-XII give an account of the life of the Buddha and his Great Teaching about the way to Salvation. The trend of this philosophy, *viz.*, the emphasis it lays on the ethical aspect of life, is well brought out. The author finds that in fundamentals, the philosophy of the Buddha is not different from that of the *Upanishads*.

Chapter XIII gives a very interesting account of Tibetan teaching on Life after Death. It illustrates how the thought-forms originated by our *Karma* in this life determine for us the kind of future existence which is in conformity with those thought-forms. It presents, in a way perfectly rational, the occult side of the Buddhism.

Chapter XIV presents the emotional mysticism of Persia, *viz.*, the idealistic system known as Sufi-ism whose deepest conclusion runs parallel to that of the *Vedanta*.

Chapters XV-XVIII are devoted to the Philosophy of Chinese thinkers and the Social Organisation of China. The philosophy of Confucius was of a practical type concerned with social and political ends. Based as it is on the reverence for ancestors and on the necessity of conforming to the right observances in all social intercourse, the philosophy of Confucius has been responsible for the stability and conservation of the social organisation of China through long ages. In this connection the author instances two Chinese thinkers, Lao Tse and Chuang Tsu, who reached, probably quite independently of the Upanishadic thinkers, the mystical heights of the *Vedanta*. Chapter XXIX dwells upon Buddhist thought and art in China and Japan.

The concluding chapter entitled "Prophecy" gives a forecast as to the influence of Asiatic Culture, particularly the Culture of India—on Europe (Europe including America). The prophecy runs thus:

Europe will never profess one of the great Asiatic faiths, *e.g.*, Vedantism or Buddhism. Such labels will probably disappear even in Asia, and the human mind will become more and more eclectic assimilating the best from all. "But since these great faiths are bridges, not barriers, I believe, they will encourage the passage of the thought of mankind across all the frontiers of faith."

"In all such matters India must lead the world for she made spiritual exploration her chief pre-occupation, and knowing where others guessed, charted the ways. Now that the narrow theology of the Jews is passing away, and a new aspect of Christianity developing in the West, I believe it will tend more and more to identify itself with the great Vedantic teachings, and the Utilitarian philosophies of Europe will plume themselves with the wings of the Himalayan eagles."

But no analysis, however detailed, will give an adequate idea of the contents of this book. It must be read very carefully and also sympathetically if the reader would understand and appreciate it. We

therefore heartily commend the book to the notice of all serious students of Oriental, particularly Indian, philosophies.

A. N. MUKHERJEE

Catalogue of the South Indian Hindu Metal Images in the Madras Government Museum, by T. H. Gravely, D.Sc., and T. N. Ramachandran, M.A., of the Government Museum, Madras: being Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, New Series, General Section, Vol. I, Pt. 2: Madras Government Press, 1932, Royal 8vo, pp. 144+32 half-tone plates. Price Rupees Five and Annas Eight.

Making images in metal is one of the distinctive artistic crafts of India which has had a vogue practically all over the land, although it was only in the extreme north, Nepal, and in the extreme south, in the Tamil land particularly, that this craft attained the dignity of a major art, rivalling stone and wood sculpture as a medium of artistic expression. Nepalese and South Indian metal images undoubtedly stand in the front line of Indian artistic achievement, and they hold the leading place beside the analogous metal work of Tibet (which is entirely of Nepal and old Bengal inspiration) Cambodia, Siam and Java, and of China and Japan, and can be compared with both the bronzes of ancient Greece and Rome and the bronzes and brasses of medieval Europe. South Indian bronzes however have a unique character of their own. The greatness of Gupta and early medieval art of Hindu India is continued with undiminished vigour in the South Indian bronzes, particularly of the Chola period (900-1300), and the tradition has not been allowed to die out even in our day. The mysticism of Hinduism, the cosmic and abstract as well as individual and intimate conceptions behind the figures of the Hindu deities, may be said to find their culminating expression in some of the South Indian bronzes. The depth and the sublimity, the strength and tenderness, the symbolism and the personal character that are present in the figures Siva and Uma, of Vishnu and Sri as outlined in literature—Sanskrit and Tamil—have been worthily rendered in form in these South Indian bronzes, after the stupendous sculptures of the Gupta period and those at Mahabalipuram, Ellora and Elephanta. Nothing finer and nobler than some of the South Indian Siva and Vishnu figures, and figures of South Indian Saints, can be imagined, and one great gift of South Indian bronze work to the artistic heritage of man is the perfected figure of Siva Nataraja—Siva the Dancer—as for instance in the well-known Madras Museum image—the figure which drew the admiration of Rodin and which has obtained such a high place in the estimation of all cultured men.

These bronzes are quite numerous, and in addition to the representative collections in the Madras and Colombo museums, hundreds are found in South Indian temples and in private collections. The literature on the subject, however, is not so extensive, and, with the exception of O. C. Gangoly's well-known "South Indian Bronzes" (Calcutta, 1915) there is no work giving an exhaustive treatment of it.

The present work forms a valuable addition to the small literature on an important branch of Indian art, and is sure to be received with welcome by all students and lovers of the art of our country. It is a monograph of importance, ably written and well-illustrated, for which the authorities of the Madras Museum can be congratulated, as much as the general public which will be using the work. Dr. Gravely and Mr. Ramachandran have done their task with befitting efficiency and thoroughness. The latter scholar is a young archaeologist who has already made his mark as a writer on Indian antiquities. The monograph of pages 140 is full of

important information, and forms a good handbook to the art and iconography of South Indian Hindu images. After dwelling upon the history of the Madras Museum collection which is described in the book, and touching upon previous writings on the subject, the authors have described the iconography of the images as well as their archaeology. Following the iconographic sequence noted by M. Jouveau-Dubreuil in the stone images of the Tamil land, Messrs. Gravely and Ramachandran discuss in detail the question of a similar sequence or development in the bronze image also, and present their conclusions in tabular form, where the historical development can be seen at a glance. After discussing the Polonnaruwa images from Ceylon which belong to the Chola period, the authors give an account of the images and their find-spots district by district, and this is followed by the descriptive catalogue proper, in which the images are fully described with reference to the plates illustrating them. These plates, although executed in half-tone, naturally enough, form a main attraction (with many people the chief attraction) of the book, and here one will find reproduced some of the masterpieces of Indian bronze sculpture. We may mention particularly the following as being perfect specimens of their kind: Vishnu (Plate I, Plate II, 1), Srinivasa (Plate III, 2), Yoganarasimha (Plate V, 2), Hanuman (Plate VI, 2, 3), Rama, Sita and Lakshmana (Plate VII), Venugopala with consorts (Plate X), Chandrasekhara (Plate XII, 1, 2), Somaskanda Siva (Plate XV, 1), and the famous series of Natarajas (Plates XVI-XVIII and Plate XXI, 2), besides a few more, including the charming Parvati illustrated on Plate XXI. An interesting group is the series of images of Venugopala with his two consorts Rukmini and Satyabhama. They have been discovered comparatively recently, and are not so widely known: in the tall *svelte* figures of Krishna and his consorts, in some points of dress and ornamentation, as well as their general style they appear rather different from the common South Indian images we know. They have been found in Guntur district, which is within the Telugu country, and were evidently executed by Telugu-speaking artists. The contribution of the Telugu people (whose ancestors created Amaravati) to the art of India in general and of South India in particular has not been enquired into, and we hope some scholar in the Andhra-land will take up the question soon. Some fine old paintings by Telugu painters are among the artistic treasures of the Madras Museum, and in all likelihood in these beautiful Venugopala images we have to note a distinct contribution of the Andhra people to the medieval art of India.

This Bulletin adds to our knowledge of Indian art, and provides us with a very acceptable series of reproductions. We hope it will have its proper recognition among scholars and art-lovers, and we look forward to similar other bulletins coming out of the Madras Museum in the near future, enhancing the reputation of its officers in the scientific world.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

The Garden of the East, by N. V. Thadani. Published by the Bharat Publishing House, Karachi, pp. 127.

In this volume Mr. Thadani has tried to reproduce the spirit of Persian poetry of a glorious epoch in English verse composed by himself. There are great names in the history of Persian poetry and, though their works are not quite similar in all respects, there is nevertheless a well-recognisable under-current of thought and feeling in most of them. Their literary devices, imagery and *motif* are almost identical in consequence. The arrangement of a book of verse or prose into a series of 'Gardens' for example, was common amongst Persian writers;—Sa'di's *Gulistan*

(Rose Garden) and *Bustan* (Orchard), Mu'in-uddin Jawini's *Nigaristan* (Picture Gallery) and Jami's *Baharistan* are well-known illustrations, and Mr. Thadani is probably indebted to this tradition for this title of his book of poems. But apart from extrinsic matters like this, the soul of a large body of Persian poetry of this age is to be traced to the form of mystical philosophy called Sufism. Mr. Thadani has attempted to introduce to readers of English poetry the best of the Sufi poets—Rumi, Hafiz, Jami and Zeb-un-nissa, a daughter of Emperor Aurangzebe, but he has not forgotten the philosophical sceptic Omar Khayyam, the great epic poet Firdausi, the romantic story-teller Nizami, the greatest dialectic poet of Persia, Sa'di, and the two famous Indian writers of Persian verse, Amir Khosrou and Urfi.

Mr. Thadani's pomes are not, as he himself points out, translations. He has tried in his own way to recreate the spirit and the outlook of each of these poets. He has certainly a grasp of the technique of versification and the ample variety of his verse-structure is highly creditable to him. Clearness of thought and an easy flow of expression are his most remarkable characteristics. He has also the poet's ear for music and a genuine poetic faculty. The difficulties he had to contend with were considerable, and it is no disparagement of his abilities to say that he has not been able to overcome them all. The range of poetry he has tried to revive for the modern reader is considerable and the main note of no two poets is ever the same. There are suitable and nice distinctions between poets of the same school and there is also difference between the styles and thoughts of the same author at different stages of his literary career. To take the case of Jalal-ud-din Rumi, the greatest Sufi poet of Persia, the gulf that separates the *Masnawi* from the *Divan* is wide enough. The former, as has been pointed out by critics is like a majestic river, calm and deep, while the latter is a foaming torrent that leaps and plunges in the ethereal solitudes of the hills. Again, Rumi has to be distinguished from Hafiz, another great Sufi poet who is described by Fitz Gerald as the most Persian of the Persians, the most intensely lyric poet of Persia whose style is flawless with its music, delicate rhythm and the beat of the refrain. It is impossible to reproduce such suitable distinctions through the medium of a foreign tongue and Mr. Thadani is here certainly entitled to indulgence. What he has achieved is not inconsiderable and has laid lovers of poetry under a deep obligation to him.

MOHINIMOHAN BHATTACHARYA

The Text-book of Modern Indian History, by S. C. Sarkar, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.), Dip.Ed. (Oxon.), Head of the Department of Indian History, Patna College, and K. K. Dutta, M.A., P.R.S., Lecturer, Patna College. Demy 8vo, xvi+227+176 and f. in two parts. Bihar Publishing House, Patna, 1932.

This volume of nearly 400 pages, divided in two parts, written by Dr. S. C. Sarkar and Mr. K. K. Dutta proposes to give us an account of the great happenings in India during the period which extended from 1526 to the administration of Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General of Bengal. The first part divided into four chapters, each one divided into several sections, discusses the beginnings of the Modern Age in India, the political condition of India at the time of Batmi's invasion, the rule of Sher Shah, the consolidation, expansion and the zenith of the Mughul Empire, Mughul Imperialism, the relations between the Mughuls and the Marathas, Sikhs and Jats. In the second part we have the account of the advent of European traders in India, the history of the rivalry of the

English and the French, the break-up of the Mughul Empire and the gradual rise of the East India Company as an Indo-British power.

The object of the authors in writing the book has been to draw up a college text-book of Indian History 'comparatively free from inadequate documentation,' 'persistence in formal chronological presentation of matter' and the 'neglect of critical historical judgment.' In respect of the first two objections they have been eminently successful. The average student would get useful information within the narrow compass of this volume and an amount of material which can only be obtained in voluminous treatises which describe in detail the events of a particular reign or centre their attention upon one particular topic or event. The innumerable references to original works at the bottom of every page, helps the more intelligent or inquisitive student to go to the original sources or the most up-to-date contribution of recent researchers. In regard to critical judgment much is to be said in favour of the book, though there is room for differences of opinion on many topics. Thus the attempt to regard 1526 as a landmark in Indian History and to mark the dawn of the modern age in India and to find a connection between the activities of Indian religious teachers and the teachers of the Reformation, is rather unsubstantiated by facts. In regard to the estimate of Sivaji (pp. 194-198) the authors' summing-up is unbiassed and fair, though this cannot be said to be the same in regard to that of Aurungzeb. The authors have carefully pointed out the merits and demerits of that great Emperor but while they describe him as a 'colossal failure' or the 'worst terrible ruler of an empire composed of many creeds and races,' they got out of their way to denounce a man without enquiring into the real causes of the downfall of the Mughul Empire. Similarly in their estimate of Warren Hastings, the authors are to be complimented when they point out the absence of foresight in him and his lack of scruples, but much of the value of their criticism is taken away when they attempt to justify his action on the ground that 'hardly a dominion was built but by some measure of it.'

On the whole, the book is well written and will serve the purpose of those for whom it is intended. The reader gets a fine narrative written in a clear style and in easy language and we recommend it to every student of Indian History.

N. C. B.

A Brief History of Sanskrit Literature (Vedic and classical) by Kokileswara Sastri, Vidyaratna, M.A., published by U. N. Dhar & Co., 58, Wellington Street, Calcutta. Price Rupee one and annas eight only.

We have read this book with great pleasure. Though it professes to be a summary of the standard works of Macdonell, Keith and Winternitz and others on the subject, it gives much new information and is quite up-to-date. Not only does the book give a birds'-eye view of all the departments of Sanskrit literature, but it has separate chapters on Foreign Relations and Dynasties of India and a brief account of Ancient Indian Dynasties which will be read with pleasure and profit by students and laymen alike. In the chapter entitled Chronological Notices of Sanskrit Authors and their Works, all the important authors and their works from the second century B. C. onwards have been mentioned. This book written in a very clear style, avoiding needless controversies and presenting only the salient facts of the History of Sanskrit literature—classical, epic and Vedic—is eminently fitted to be prescribed as a text-book for the B.A., candidates of the Indian Universities. Prof. Sastri deserves the thanks of the student community for this excellent

volume and we are confident this book will be extensively used by those for whom it is intended. In the next edition, which, we have no doubt, will be soon called for, we hope the learned author will make use of diacritical marks which will be of immense help to the reader in pronouncing the names.

K. C. CHATTERJEE

Gleanings

THE ECLIPSE OF DEMOCRATIC CIVILISATION: THE PRIMARY CAUSE

Democracy to-day seems to be on its last gasp. An extraordinary slump has overtaken not only Liberalism, but individual liberty and democracy. They have been replaced over a large part of the world by the very essence of barbarism and dictatorship. What is the reason of this violent reaction of the present? How is one to explain the sense of frustration which has come over the democratic world at the very moment of liberty's greatest victory? The Marquess of Lothian makes an illuminating attempt in the pages of the "Contemporary Review" to find out a probable reason of the eclipse of democratic civilisation.

"The ultimate cause of these things, I venture to think, is just one thing—international anarchy. It is not that the principles of liberty are wrong or out of date, that mankind has outgrown them, that they are not the best foundation for human progress, but that at present it is impossible to develop or even to apply them either in politics or in economics, because of anarchy among the nations. Most people, no doubt, will give a formal assent to the thesis that our troubles are largely caused by the anarchy of the modern world and by the excessive nationalism, political and economic, to which it gives rise. But I am not sure that everybody realises how far-reaching are its effects and that it is impossible to get rid of our troubles until it is overcome. Liberty and anarchy have always been incompatibles. Anarchy has always meant the temporary triumph of violence or dictatorship. We see it in the rise of violence and dictatorship on every side to-day. Liberty has only flourished as anarchy has been replaced by the reign of law.

"But why, it may be asked, has international anarchy suddenly become so much more fatal to a free civilisation than it was in the nineteenth century? It is partly, of course, because of the prodigious shrinking of the globe since the beginning of this century, through the motorcar and the aeroplane and wireless, so that the consequences of anarchy for the world as a whole are as fatal to-day as were the consequences of anarchy for America between 1781-1789, for the British Isles before the Unions, and for Germany before Bismarck. But it is mainly because during the Victorian era there was a peculiar combination of circumstances, which temporarily obscured the effect of the underlying anarchy and gave the post-Reformation world a temporary respite from war. These circumstances were exhaustion after the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, the extraordinary predominance of Great Britain as a world power, and world free trade—circumstances which made both for international peace and for unprecedented world economic expansion. But this

condition was an inherently unstable equilibrium. It has been gradually undermined by the rise of rival world powers, by new methods of transportation and communication and by the growth of national protection. It crashed in ruins in 1914, as every system, ultimately based on anarchy, is bound to crash in ruins.

"The Great War was the inevitable consequence of international anarchy, and it is that war which has been the immediate cause of the intensification of nationalism both in politics and economics, the excessive burden of debt, the decline of democracy and liberty, the rise of the dictatorships, the nightmare of fear and resentment which broods over the world. And it must be perfectly obvious to every thinking person to-day that if the present anarchy continues the competition in armaments will revive, military alliances will replace covenants to renounce war, democracies will increasingly give place to dictatorships, domestic freedom will more and more disappear under the pressure to be prepared and powerful in case of war, the international obstructions to trade and intercourse will multiply, and that war, made far more terrible by aeroplane and gas, will eventually break out both in Europe and the Far East, and gradually engulf the whole world.

"This is not said in any spirit of pessimism. Quite the reverse. We are slowly being driven, by suffering, disaster and frustration, as well as by foresight and wisdom, to see that the only way in which nations can avoid constant and recurrent war and preserve a free civilisation is by ending international anarchy, and that means bridging nationalism with some new form of federation. Nothing short of the principle of federation—the creation of a common government for common purposes—will end in anarchy. Nothing short of it will end that malaise which exists to-day in the conflict of loyalties which finds expression, for instance, in the famous pacifist resolution of the Oxford Union—a conflict which will only be resolved when pacifism is seen to mean, not a mere negative opposition to the bloody and senseless destruction of war, but positive loyalty to world law and world government, complementary to, and not conflicting with, loyalty to national law and national government.

"I do not mean by this that world federation is in sight to-day. What I mean is that we shall only begin to escape from the paralysis in which we stand when we face the fact that the League of Nations, good as it may be as an interim step, is not and cannot be enough, and that the essential and vital step out of anarchy, is that progressive and democratic nations should be prepared to federate with other like-minded civilised nations, pool their armaments, and create a common economic system within the union. Then our thinking will become really constructive once more. M. Briand, and many others, have thought that a federation of Europe was the only cure for Europe's ills. It may be that the free nations may be forced to some form of federation as the only method of resisting a continuation of dictatorships. It may be that the British Commonwealth or the English-speaking world may point the way. It may start large or small and grow by accretion. The vital condition is that the union should not be based on religion or race, but should include nations which have been sovereign and diverse races and peoples."

MUHAMMADAN CONQUEST AND INFLUENCE ON HINDUISM

In a monograph on India included in "The Open Court" (devoted to the science of Religion, Religion of science and the extension of the

Religious Parliament Idea) appears the following on the *Influence of Muhammadan Conquest on Hinduism*. In a brief compass, the author brings out very ably the religious action and reactions following the Muhammadan invasion.

"Islam never uprooted or transformed Hinduism, and Hinduism has never been able to absorb Islam. Islam was forced, against its declared policy of giving no quarter to the Infidel, to compromise with Hinduism. Except in the case of Sikhs no real fusion ever took place between Islam and Hinduism. The Sikhs, who number about three millions, began in the Punjab as a puritanical, reforming religious sect whose doctrines contained both Hindu and Muhammadan elements. Theistic in tendency they rejected image worship and caste and the Brahman priesthood, they refused to accept either the *Koran* or the sacred books of the Hindus, and compiled a sacred book of their own, the *Granth*. Muhammadan persecution transformed them into an armed sect, a church militant, and eventually into a nation and a political power. They have always remained independent of Islam and of Hinduism, but with increasingly greater leanings toward Hinduism than towards Islam.

"Large numbers of Hindus, many forcibly, were converted to Islam. Islam is strongest and most vigorous in the north-western part of India, although more than half of the population of Bengal is Muhammadan. The policy of forcible conversion seems to have been stronger there than anywhere else. In the Deccan where persecution was particularly severe, in spite of frequent attempts by the Muhammadan ruler to exterminate the Hindu population, the population continues to be Hindu in the main. It is doubtful whether more than ten per cent. of the present eighty million Muhammadans are descendants of Muhammadan invaders. Hinduism has always maintained an intransigent attitude towards Hindus who have been defiled through conversion, even though that defilement was involuntary. Only recently has there developed a more liberal policy which might allow converted Hindus to be received back into the fold.

"The three centuries of Muhammadan conquest resulted in great destruction of Indian art and architecture, and of Hindu and Buddhist manuscripts, and the virtual annihilation of the old Hindu nobility and ruling class except in Rajputana. The four centuries of Muhammadan rule left little that was really constructive. Moreland remarks of the Muslim empire in India, "Its worst incidents were the repression of individual energy, and the concentration on a barren struggle to divide, rather than to increase the annual produce of the country. This was the '*Dramudra Hereditas*,' the legacy of loss, which Moslem administration left to their successors, and which is so far from final liquidation." Lane-Poole remarks that the most important effects of Muhammadan rule have been the formation of a new vernacular (Urdu which is a fusion of Hindi with Persian and Arabic and Turki elements), a new architecture and art, a few provinces which are still under Muslim rule, and a large Muslim minority which forms such a difficult element in the present political situation."

AIR TRANSPORT AND SPREAD OF DISEASE

Julian Huxley, the celebrated scientist, contributes to the pages of "The Modern Thinker," a timely and provoking article on the above

subject. The applications of science, he seems to say, need not always benefit us. Sometimes the changes they bring about may lead to serious harm. Improved methods of transport has facilitated the growing spread of diseases, and airplanes in particular is a menacing carrier of such calamities. "Too often the harm is not recognised until after the event, but sometimes it can be foreseen; and then it may be possible to guard against it. The only trouble is that the people who foresee the harm are generally not the people whose business it is to guard against it." He continues:

"The spread of yellow fever is a case in point where we can see possible harm ahead. Pure medical science, just over thirty years ago, showed that yellow fever is transmitted by a particular brand of mosquito. Applied medical science, aided largely by Rockefeller funds, proceeded to take advantage of this knowledge and clean up a number of the world's yellow fever centres, banishing the disease outright from some, and reducing it in others. Now comes another branch of applied science, in the form of improved transport facilities in general and airplanes in particular, and threatens to spread the disease to regions which it has never yet reached, but where all the conditions are set for its blazing through crowded populations like a flame through dry stubble. But meanwhile the knowledge supplied by medical science has made it possible for us to foresee the danger and, if we choose, to prevent it.

"So far it has not managed to gain a foothold in the great continent of Asia. But that it might manage to do so is the danger now threatened by the improved methods of transport. All that is needed is the introduction of a few human beings carrying the parasites in their blood. The other link in the chain of the disease is already there; the yellow fever mosquito abounds through the warmer parts of the Asiatic continent. If the parasite once gained a footing, conditions are appallingly favourable for its rapid spread. For one thing, it has now been discovered that other creatures besides man, notably many kind of monkeys, can take the disease. Then the human population in many parts, such as India and China, is much denser than in the original home of the diseases; most of the people are illiterate, live unhygienic lives, and are full of superstitions and prejudices which would make quarantine or any proper measures of mosquito-control extremely difficult. Asia, in fact, is rather like a powder magazine waiting for a spark. If the disease did arrive, and began to spread, it is hard to see what would prevent its causing one of the most devastating epidemics in human history, before which the Black Death and the Spanish influenza might well come to look insignificant. Luckily the sea voyage from any infected area is too long for patients to remain infective to mosquitoes, and on modern ships water is no longer carried in open butts where mosquitoes can breed. The chief danger seems to lie in the possible spread of the disease across the African continent from west to east and thence by easy stages in native vessels along the coast to India.

"The greater degree of human movement due to the encouragement of trade, is already having its effects. In the years since the War, yellow fever has already spread about eight hundred miles further inland from the west coast. There still remains a huge tract of jungle for it to pass before it reaches the more populous open country of East Africa; but motor roads and air lines are coming into use everywhere, and these are a real danger. Not only do they make it much more likely for human yellow fever carriers to get across, but they give new opportunities to the mosquitoes. Mosquitoes like shady places and the interior of a closed car or an airplane offers an attractive refuge.

"It is worth trying to imagine what might happen if yellow fever really got a hold in India or China. The disease seems to be at its most virulent when it attacks a population which has not previously been exposed to it. It is not uncommon for four out of every five patient to die, and in Rio de Janeiro in 1898, out of every twenty who took the disease, only one escaped. Proper treatment can reduce the danger, but proper treatment is not likely to be available in remote Asiatic villages. Strict quarantine can prevent it from spreading, but, in many parts of Asia it is not likely that rigid quarantine would be either enforced or obeyed. It has been suggested by some authorities that the tropical fever called dengue, which is rather like a mild yellow fever in some way protects against infection with yellow fever; but recent research gives no support to this idea. This disease would in all probability spread over tropical and sub-tropical Asia, especially round the coasts and up the rivers, flaring up into violent epidemics in favourable years, smouldering dangerously at other times. Millions of people would die until, after some centuries, selection would have left a race of survivors somewhat more resistant to the parasite. Meanwhile trade would be disorganized, and white men would venture there at their peril as they did to Sierra Leone and other parts of the west coast of Africa in the bad old days when this was called the White Man's Grave, before science and sanitation had got to work. It would be a disaster of the first magnitude, and would divide the world into two sectors—a plague-stricken East and a West striving to protect itself by isolation and quarantine."

JAPAN'S FOREIGN POLICY.

Lt.-Col. H. St. Clair Smallwood, F.R.G.S., contributes to the "Asiatic Review" (October, 1933) a brief article on Japan's foreign policy which will provide a useful summary on the subject.

"The countries with which Japan's foreign policy is chiefly concerned are China, Russia, America, and Great Britain.

"With Russia in the recent past there has been the nervousness engendered by Japan's fear of Bolshevism and a few incidents chiefly connected with the Chinese Eastern Railway. Negotiations now proceeding will probably result in the Chinese Eastern Railway becoming the property of the Manchukuo Government or the South Manchurian Railway. This will probably remove the most fruitful source of friction. One of the results of these negotiations will be that Vladivostok as the terminus only of the Ussuri-Amir Railway will lose its importance and South Manchurian and Korean ports gain correspondingly. It is reasonable to expect that the wide gauge of the Chinese Eastern will be altered to conform to the standard gauge of the South Manchurian lines. It is also likely that Harbin will become less Russian and more Japanese. Land purchases by Japanese in Harbin have been made for some time past. Perhaps the foregoing may be rather outside Japanese foreign policy, but they may be amongst the results of Japan's influence on the Government of Manchukuo. If Japan's interest increases in Manchukuo one feels she will regard with complacency the downward thrust of Soviet Russia into Mongolia and Chinese Turkestan.

"Japan's policy in China is surely one of peace; she cannot regard with indifference the loss of her markets there. True these have been largely replaced by her successful penetration into other Eastern spheres, particularly India and the Dutch Indies, but China's four hundred millions of people, with their immense potential purchasing power, must be ever

present in the mind of commercial Japan. Peoples cannot be forced to purchase goods presented to them on the end of a bayonet, and trade must follow the flag of friendship rather than the flag of war. There is in China a movement to bring about a cessation of the strained relations between the two countries, and when these efforts bear fruit Japanese trade will no doubt revive in China proper. A suggestion has been made that Japan is prepared to give up her extra-territorial rights in exchange for a guaranteed ending of the boycott. If this happens it might create an awkward situation for those Powers who still have extra-territorial rights.

"In North China, where many of the inhabitants have relations and friends in Manchukuo, the enmity for Japan is giving way to understanding and an appreciation of the more settled conditions obtaining in that country. This feeling may be gradually extending to the centre and south of China, but it must be remembered that for the Kuomintang to stretch out the hand of friendship to Japan would involve a violent change of policy and consequent loss of face. I have no doubt that there is a section of the Nanking Government who would welcome a *rapprochement* with Japan, and which Japan urgently desires, but as against this there is a political group which maintains itself in power by appealing to the patriotism and anti-Japanese feelings of the people; also there are professional propagandists and employees of the anti-Japanese boycott movement. Japan's policy is to arrive at a peaceful solution of their disagreements with China by direct negotiation. It has long been my view that "assistance" rendered in negotiations between these two peoples is a hindrance rather than a help. These two great Oriental peoples can surely more easily understand each other better than can we Westerners.

"There is no doubt that Japan means to uphold the independence of Manchukuo. Though it has so far failed to absorb Japan's surplus population, it certainly continues to supply Japan with the essential raw materials of coal, iron, and soya.

"Japan's policy in Manchukuo was summed up for me the other day by a Japanese official in the words, "Peace and the open door." Peace is most certainly the spear-head of her policy—if such an expression is not a contradiction in terms—but there is an uneasy feeling abroad that the door to trade will be held a little further open to Japan than to other nations. Though Japan has never made any official pronouncement to the effect, it seems probable that business will largely be conducted in Manchukuo through the Japanese as intermediaries, rather on the compradore system as in China proper. It is, however, difficult to be didactic on this point while the presence of banditry holds up the development of the country and the increase of trade.

"In 1935, when the revision of naval pacts must come up for consideration, there is no doubt that Japan will voice her dissatisfaction with the ratio of 5:5:3. How America will view the naval parity proposals that Japan is likely to make, it is difficult to say, but it is reasonable to suppose that naval parity is likely to meet with less opposition in England than in America. America may look forward with uneasiness to the time when she abandons the Philippine Islands to Philippine self-government, but it appears clear that Japan will be content with nothing less than parity.

"Japan's policy with relation to the mandated islands is quite firm in that she contends the mandates were given to her by the Treaty of Versailles and were only confirmed by the League of Nations. It is by no means certain that the League contemplates a change or removal of mandate, but it is certain that any such *démarche* on the part of the

League will be strenuously resisted by Japan, who will contend that her mandate can only be terminated by a revision of the Treaty of Versailles. It is not easy to foretell what the attitude of the League will be to a mandatory country which ceases to be a member, as will be the case with Japan in 1935.

"It may be said in conclusion that the more one studies the foreign policy of Japan the more reasons there are for believing that her future policy must be a peaceful one. The only way she can keep her teeming industrial millions employed is by devoting her attention to her growing markets. A warlike policy cannot help her in this direction, and her present undoubtedly increasing success in the world's markets is likely to convince her of the extreme importance to the economic life of her country of peace and industry. In order to keep the peace of the world a sympathetic understanding of Japanese difficulties in England is most desirable. Japan's statement of her own case is not always well put. The Japanese are a proud and reticent people; facile speech and easy propaganda are not their strong points. Commercial competition does not oil the wheels of understanding, and the present loss of British markets to the Japanese is bound to make for hard feeling."

RECENT COLLECTIONS IN THE ORIENTAL SECTION: BRITISH MUSEUM

We call the following from the latest issue (Vol. VIII. No. 1) of "The British Museum Quarterly."

Two Indian Paintings.

"The National Art-collections Fund has presented to the Oriental section of the Department of Prints an Indian painting of the Mughal School. This represents the Emperor Jahangir sitting in a small pavilion in a courtyard, and giving audience. He is embracing an envoy, an elderly man, who bends to kiss his hand. At the left is a group of people, among whom a man in European dress is noticeable. Miniatures of the time of Jahangir are comparatively rare, and this, though unfortunately damaged in the lower right portion, is a welcome addition to the small series in the Department. Its interest is heightened by the introduction of the European, whom it is tempting to identify with Sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador from James I who was first received by Jahangir in January, 1616, and who remained in India till February, 1619. The only known portrait of Roe, in the National Portrait Gallery, was painted many years later, some time after 1636 (he lived to 1644); and allowing for the difference in years and a different fashion of wearing the pointed beard, one can see a real resemblance in the shape of the face and a certain spirited carriage of the head. As in the other portraits in the miniature, the artist has set the eyes a little obliquely in the face. The blond colouring precludes the Portuguese; and though this might possibly be a portrait of William Hawkins, an earlier envoy, not from the king but the East India Company, it seems most likely that it represents Roe, who was so frequently and favourably received by Jahangir.

"Another Indian painting has been acquired as a gift from the Keeper of the Department. The subject is a 'Prince visiting a holy man among his disciples,' and the painting presents some unusual features. While the landscape back ground shows conventions of the early Mughal School and reminiscences of Persian painting, the figures are in Rajput style. It seems to date from some time late in the seventeenth century."

A Sculpture from Indo-China.

"The stone sculpture illustrated on Pl. V has been presented to the Museum by the National Art-collections Fund. It is part of a many-headed statue of the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, commonly known in Indo-China as Lokeshvara (Lord of the World); and it can be identified as such by the small image of Buddha in the tiara of the topmost head.

"There are five heads on this fragment, and it may be that the tale of them is complete as there is a five-headed Avalokitesvara in Buddhist iconography. On the other hand, the more usual number is eleven when the Bodhisattva is represented as many-headed.

"The sculpture is of sandstone. The facial features are characteristic of Khmer art in its mature period, about the twelfth century. Its provenance is not known, but persons familiar with Indo-Chinese sculpture regard it as a provincial piece, perhaps from Eastern Siam, and not as an example of the metropolitan art of Angkor."

Two Illustrated Assamese Manuscripts.

"Two Assamese manuscripts which have been lately acquired by the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts are of very considerable interest. The older of the two is a copy of the *Dharma-purana*, a metrical manual of Hindu religious doctrine and practice according to one of the churches which worship Vishnu in his incarnation as Krishna. It is written on thin smooth sheets of wood, 23 inches in width by 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height, the borders being coloured red, and was copied in the Saka year 1657, corresponding to A.D. 1735-36. The folios run to 179, but a few are missing. The book is profusely illustrated throughout with coloured drawings in a local style of art. Most of these are of somewhat mediocre quality; but a few of them, obviously by a different master, are of real merit, and are designed to illustrate not themes of Hindu religion but the life of the patron of the book, who was no less a personage than Sib Singh (Siva-simha), the contemporary Ahom King of Assam. The reign of this monarch lasted from 1714 until his death in 1744. During the life of his first queen, Phulesvari, he achieved a rather bad eminence by persecuting the worshippers of Vishnu-Krishna, both he and his consort being ardent devotees of Siva. Phulesvari died about 1731, and Sib Singh then married her sister Ambika. During the latter's reign, which ended with her death about 1738, more tolerance seems to have been shown to the church of Vishnu-Krishna. Our *Dharma-purana* bears evidence to this change of attitude. A manual of Vishnuite religion, it explicitly claims as its patrons Sib Singh and Ambika. On fol. 2a we have a picture of Sib Singh on his throne graciously receiving a copy of the book; and on fol. 179b we see him on his throne 'examining the *Dharma-purana*,' as the title below tells us, while behind him sits Ambika with the heir-apparent on her knee. Fol. 173a (Plate VI) presents the royal pair riding in procession. On fol. 2b (Plate VII) is seen a dark handsome woman, with her hair dressed in the high chignon (*jata*) affected by holy persons, who is seated on a couch, and holds in her lap the heir-apparent, she is Rajapatesvari, 'Mistress of the King's Diadem,' the guardian genius of the throne. She reappears on fol. 3a, where she is seen sitting, again with the young prince in her lap, and conversing with Sib Singh.

The other book is also an extremely rare religious poem, written on similar sheets of wood, which are 25 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide and 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches in height; the date of copying is the Saka year 1758 (A.D. 1836). It is the *Brahma-khanda*, the first section of the *Brahma-vaivarta-purana*, which is an

Assamese metrical adaptation by one Durgacharya, who seems to be otherwise unknown to fame. It is likewise abundantly illustrated with coloured drawings of a local Eastern school. These, despite their crudity, have some merit and more interest, as they show a slight but distinctly recognisable influence from Burma. A quaint anachronism in them is their frequent representation of the troops of soldiers attending upon kings, who are clad not in the garb of ancient Ind but in uniforms faithfully copied from those used by the British Army at the time, with shakos and muskets.

At Home and Abroad

Dutch Universities

Henceforth, foreign students will be forbidden to enrol in Dutch Universities and technical schools as a result of a Government Bill passed by the Lower House.

The purpose of the measure is to ensure that Dutch students are not crowded out by foreigners.

Allahabad University

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has accepted the invitation of the Vice-Chancellor to address the convocation of the Allahabad University this year. The convocation will be held on November 25.

Italian University Delegate

Professor Father Don Giuseppe Capra, Professor of Political Economy and Geographical Exploration, at the University of Perugia and Rome, arrived in Mandalay in September last. He has been sent by the Italian Government for studying Burma and her resources and for securing closer relationship between Burma and Italy.

He visits Bhamo, Maymyo, Shan States, Siam, Indo-China and Singapore, *en route* to Italy.

Asiatic Society of Bengal

On January 15, next year, the Asiatic Society of Bengal attains its 150th birthday, and arrangements are now being made to celebrate the event in a befitting manner.

At 5-30 in the evening of January 15, there will be a *conversazione* in the Indian Museum to be followed by a banquet in the Hall of the Society. At the conclusion of the banquet a special meeting will be held for the election of 150th anniversary honorary members, and to receive addresses from learned societies in various parts of the world.

In connection with the centenary celebration in 1884 a volume depicting the progress of Letters and Science, during the preceding 100 years, was published, and it has been decided to undertake the preparation of a special volume on similar lines covering the period of the last 50 years. To give effect to the wishes of the Council a number of sub-committees have been appointed to arrange details connected with the various items of the celebration.

Education in London

About a quarter of a million Londoners mostly, but not all of them, young, recently resumed studies under the extremely comprehensive system existing in the Metropolitan area for providing for continuance of education. The winter programme, mainly organized by the London County Council, offers a choice of no less than 20,000 classes on almost every conceivable subject. Most of them deal with languages, branches of science, and art, handicrafts, professions or trades, but the syllabus is sufficiently broad to include such subjects as lip-reading for the deaf and a cure for stammering. The importance of these classes is indicated by the fact that, during the current year, 65,000 boys and girls are leaving the London County Council schools and evening classes to enable them at a trivial cost to specialize in subjects helpful to them. There is no age limit to the classes and, in one instance, a grandfather aged 70 is studying in company with his son and grandson.

Agra University Elections

A piquant situation has arisen in the Agra University due to the recent ruling of the Vice-Chancellor. Ever since the right of electing their representatives has been confined to the staff of colleges, all of them, without exception, including demonstrators have been participating in them and voting in them. This was also the practice of the old Allahabad University. On a reference from some colleges the Vice-Chancellor has ruled that demonstrators and those teachers who are connected with the practical work only on the science side cannot be considered as imparting instruction and are not entitled to vote along with other members of the staff. This decision has caused consternation and dissatisfaction. A protest was made and the Vice-Chancellor was asked to reconsider and revise his decision. But he refused to do so. An appeal to the Chancellor under Sec. 35, Agra University Act, is considered inevitable.

Education in Ajmer-Merwara

It is distinctly unsatisfactory that about 50 per cent. of the taxpayers' money in Ajmer-Merwara should be utilised in providing higher education to the select few in urban towns, while the illiterate masses have largely to go without the knowledge of the three R's and the education of girls on which the future advance of the people, social, educational and economic, depends should be allowed almost to starve. It is necessary that the position should be reversed before long, says the quinquennial report on education in Ajmer-Merwara for the period 1927-32 compiled by the Rev. J. C. Chatterjee, Superintendent of Education for the centrally administered areas. The report says that out of the total expenditure of Rs. 3,39,399 only Rs. 1,67,697, a bare 14 per cent., was being spent on female education in 1931-32. Similarly the expenditure on primary education was only Rs. 2,13,900 in round figures which is just 25 per cent. of the total expenditure, in spite of the fact that about 60 new Government primary schools were opened in the district during the quinquennium. As the net result of labour and expenditure of the past decade, Ajmer-Merwara had added only 1.8 per cent. to the population of male literates and 0.9 per cent. to female literates and the total literacy percentage is still as low as 10.6 per cent.

Indian Academy of Science

A society for the promotion and advancement of scientific research in India is expected to be established shortly in Calcutta. A meeting of Calcutta scientists under the presidency of Dr. U. N. Brahmachari was held in the hall of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Park Street, Calcutta, when it was decided that a central body, capable of co-ordinating research and safeguarding the interests of scientific workers, should be organized in Calcutta. It was agreed that the institution should be known as the Indian Academy of Science, and all departments of science, both pure and applied, such as mathematics, physics, meteorology, chemistry, geology, zoology, botany, medicine, anthropology, psychology, agriculture, forest research, engineering, veterinary research and geography—should be included in the scope of the proposed Academy and allowed effective representation in its constitution. The Academy, it was proposed, should encourage scientific research in all its aspects by holding meetings, publishing results of research of outstanding merit, providing suitable library facilities and by such other means as might appear conducive to the advancement of science in India. It is also to be an object of the Academy to stimulate research in less developed sciences and to arrange for provision of equal facilities for research in all the departments of science included in its scope. With a view to ensuring co-ordination of research, it was decided that the existing scientific bodies in India should be represented on the Academy. This, it was suggested, would enable scientific knowledge in the country to be pooled and applied to the practical needs of the people. The meeting agreed that the institution should be so designed as to command the greatest respect and influence both in India and in international circles. It was, therefore, considered desirable to associate the Academy, when founded, with the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which has already given birth to an active scientific body, namely the Indian Science Congress. The whole scheme regarding the foundation of the Academy will be placed before a special meeting of the General Committee of the Science Congress at its forthcoming session at Poona for full discussion.

Lucknow wants an Elected Vice-Chancellor

For some time now the Act Revision Committee appointed by the Court of the Lucknow University has been sitting and it is understood that it held three meetings. It is learnt that one of the important recommendations that had been made is about the appointment of the Vice-Chancellor. According to the present Act the Vice-Chancellor is appointed by the Chancellor after considering the recommendations of the executive council. The amendment recommended is that the Vice-Chancellor shall be appointed by the Court from among three names recommended by the executive council. This will be subject to confirmation by the Chancellor. Another important recommendation appears to have been made to the effect that the Vice-Chancellor should not preside at meetings of the Court but a person elected by the Court as chairman from among members of the Court who are not either members of the executive council of the university or members of the teaching staff.

Patna University Convocation

The annual convocation of Patna University for conferring degrees will be held at Patna on November 25.

Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Vice-Chancellor of Lucknow University, has been invited to address the convocation.

Carnegie Scholarship

Dr. A. Subba Rao, University Professor of Physiology, Mysore, has been awarded the Carnegie Fellowship Scholarship by the Executive Council of Universities of the British Empire. He will sail this week for London further to specialize in physiology.

Kayestha Pathshala Jubilee

The Kayestha Pathshala, which has grown from a modest school with 20 students and two teachers 60 years ago to one of Allahabad's leading educational institutions with university college, intermediate college and junior school and over 1,000 students on its roll, celebrated its diamond jubilee recently. The celebrations began with a session of the College Parliament followed by distribution of prizes by Mr. Pannalal, I.C.S., Commissioner of Benares, who paid a high tribute to the founder of the institution. Munshi Kaliprasad thanked the Minister for Education and the Director of Public Instruction for their sympathetic attitude towards the institution and called on students to qualify themselves in order to solve the big problems facing the country, chief among them being the amelioration of the condition of the Indian agriculturist, alleviation of distress among the uneducated and the unemployed and the future of women. The Educational Exhibition was opened by Mr. A. H. Mackenzie, Director of Public Instruction, who said that as an educationist he wanted to see in students initiative, courage and self-reliance. The Kayestha Pathshala, he said, had always co-operated with the Education Department and had contributed not a little to making the Allahabad University what it is.

" University in Exile "

A " University in Exile " is to be opened in New York this month staffed by members of the German Faculty who have been driven from their country by the anti-Jewish and anti-Liberal stand of the Hitler Government. The professorial staff will be an independent, self-governing faculty teaching political and social science.

The University is made possible from funds raised by a national committee, headed by Mr. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, of the United States Supreme Court. Announcement of its opening is made by Dr. Alvin Johnston, Director of the New School for Social Research. He has just returned from London, where he made arrangements to bring 14 exiled German scholars to the United States, as a first contingent.

The sponsors hope the plan can be expanded ultimately to include other faculties. Dr. Johnson says they can make a distinctive contribution to American Scholarship. He emphasized that the " University in Exile " was to function purely as a centre of scholarship, instruction and research, and not as a point of dissemination of anti-Nazi propaganda. An agreement on this has been reached with the professors, he said, on the ground that their work was " too serious to admit of political by-play."

Nagpur University

Nagpur University is both an examining and affiliating institution. The two directions in which the development of the University may be

expected in the immediate future, says the annual report for last year, are the organization of the Honours Courses and the introduction of Technological Training in the University. The Colleges have commenced the teaching of the Honours Courses from July, 1933, and the result of the University's scheme of Honours Courses, which in many respects are different from that adopted in most of the other Indian University, will be awaited with interest by the University educationists.

As regards the introduction of the technological training made possible by the magnificent bequest of the late R. B. D. Laxminarayan, a committee appointed by the Executive Council is working out the details and it is hoped that it will be possible to establish a Technological Laboratory without undue delay. Meanwhile, it is hoped that the annual allotment of Rs. 10,000 which the Executive Council has decided to make from the funds of the bequest for scholarships for technological training, grants for research in Applied Science and Chemistry and the purchase of books on Technology, will give some impetus to Technological studies in the Provinces until it is possible to carry out a more comprehensive scheme for the purpose.

Travancore Education Scheme

The committee with Mr. R. M. Statham as chairman which was appointed to study the existing educational system in Travancore and to report on the best method of making education progressive in the State has, it is understood, completed its report, which will be published shortly. According to the recommendations, it is understood, primary education will be compulsory and there will be no separate schools for boys and girls. Teachers will also be recruited from both sexes. From the next stage boys and girls will be educated separately. Separate schools are recommended for boys and girls in the High School course. The present Vernacular and English Middle schools will give way to Anglo-Vernacular schools. The two Colleges in the State are recommended to be amalgamated and the Women's College to be made a second grade one. The salaries of teachers are to be revised, the minimum being Rs. 25 and the maximum Rs. 125. The committee anticipate a saving of Rs. 5 lakhs if the two States of Travancore and Cochin adopt the recommendations.

Andhra University

The Gazette of India announces that the Governor-General in Council has authorised the Andhra University, under section 3 of the Indian Medical Degrees Act of 1916, to confer, grant or issue in British India degrees, diplomas, licences and certificates with effect from April 1934, stating that the recipient of such degrees is qualified to practise in western medical science.

Theosophical College, Madanapalle

The Theosophical College at Madanapalle has been asked by the University of Madras to show an increase of a lakh of rupees in its accounts, if it is to be allowed to retain its status as a college.

The Theosophical Education Trust was formed at Madanapalle to provide education to students of all faiths, with religion as an integral

study. The Trust took over an existing educational institution there as its first unit and called it the Theosophical High School. This was raised to the status of a second grade college in 1915, and two years later it was made the central constituent of the National University which was subsequently suspended. The institution was raised to the status of a first grade college and affiliated to Madras University in 1925.

Punjab University Jubilee

In commemoration of the Punjab University Jubilee Celebrations which have been fixed for December 4, 5 and 6 next, the Senate has decided to confer honorary degrees of D. C. L., D. Litt. and D.Sc. on some of the distinguished personages who have been directly and indirectly connected with the Punjab University including Sir Shadilal, Mr. A. C. Woolner, Sir Fazli Hussain, Sir Mohammad Iqbal, the Maharajas of Kashmir and Patiala and the Nawab of Bahawalpur. On this occasion, the Syndicate has decided to hold an exhibition of old manuscripts and historical documents on Dec. 5 and 6. States, institutions and individuals possessing valuable collections are being requested to lend them for exhibition. Manuscripts should be sent to the Secretary of the Manuscript Exhibition Committee.

Lucknow University

The Executive Council of Lucknow University have made several appointments to the teaching staff. The temporary lectureship of Commerce, due to the absence on leave of Mr. Gupta, has been split up into two posts, Mr. Maqbool Ahmed being appointed to teach purely commercial subjects and Mr. A. Loomba as junior lecturer to help the Politics Department. Owing to the increase in the number of Politics students, a lectureship has been created for the rest of the session and the Council has decided to appoint Dr. B. N. Sharma to fill the new post. Dr. Dorothy Speer has been appointed to fill the new post of part-time lecturer in German. The University has nominated Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Vice-Chancellor, as its representative on the Inter-University Board.

Proposed Palestine University

Some 800,000 Moslems in Palestine have subscribed £250,000 for the establishment at Jerusalem of a Moslem University and centre of learning. The organizers of this scheme aim to collect £1,000,000 for the realization of their ideal of not only setting up a world centre of Islamic learning and culture, but also of bringing about the rehabilitation of the Arabs in Palestine. To further the prosecution of this object His Eminence Syed Aminul Hussaini, the Grand Mufti of Palestine, accompanied by Muhammad Ali Pasha, ex-Minister of Waqfs in Egypt, is touring India, interesting his co-religionists in the project and eliciting their financial support. Committees have been established in almost every province for the furtherance of the scheme, while an all-India committee has been recruited from the provincial bodies with Alhadi Nawab Bahadur Sir Abdel Kerim Ghuznavi as President.

His Eminence is gratified with the support he has received in India.

Benares University

Following are the extracts from an appeal recently issued by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Vice-Chancellor, Benares Hindu University, for Rs. 50 lakhs for developments that are urgently needed :

"By the grace of God a crore and a half of rupees has been collected for the Benares Hindu University in the course of twenty years. The University has built a new town, two miles long and one mile broad; has laid out 20 miles of road; built large colleges and science laboratories; established thirty-two departments of learning, including colleges of Sanskrit learning on one side and those of mechanical and electrical engineering, and department of mining, metallurgy and industrial chemistry on the other. It has built seven hostels which accommodate nearly two thousand students and 110 residences for members of the teaching staff. It has provided extensive playgrounds for athletics and sports. Students flock to it from all parts of India, including Indian states. Their present number is nearly 3,500. It is open to students of all castes and creeds and of both sexes.

"Fifty lakhs more is now immediately needed for urgent developments; ten lakhs for a marble temple; twelve lakhs for hostels to accommodate fifteen hundred more students; classes of arts and science; five lakhs for the college of engineering; ten lakhs for a Polytechnique Institute for the further development of the teaching of applied science; five lakhs for the University Library; three lakhs for the University Press. Every Indian has reason to feel gratified at this achievement of his people. I therefore appeal to every Indian, particularly to every Hindu, to contribute his or her quota to the further growth of this great institution. Every one may give at least one month's income, if necessary by convenient instalments, or may help to build a room or endow a scholarship of fifty, thirty, twenty, fifteen or ten rupees per month in honour of his or her mother or father or any one else whom he or she loves or adores, or in his or her own name, or may give a donation ear-marked for any of the many needs mentioned above.

"I also invite all who can to pay a visit to the University. I promise they will find much to interest them."

Indian Educationists for Kabul

Sir Muhammad Iqbal, Sir Ross Masood, Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh University, and the other Indian Educationists invited by the Afghan Government to advise on the proposed Kabul University and reorganization of the Afghan Educational system left for Kabul on 21st October last.

Oxford University

Lord Irwin, Minister of Education, has been formally nominated as a candidate for the Chancellorship of Oxford University, rendered vacant by the death of Viscount Grey.

Ourselves

THE LATE LADY SUHRAWARDY

We are deeply grieved to record the death of Lady Suhrawardy, the wife of our Vice-Chancellor. She was keeping indifferent health for some time past but none thought that her end was so near. The tragedy of the event is deepened by the fact that at the time of her death her husband was in Europe and her daughter, her only surviving issue, was at Nagpur at her father-in-law's house. Lady Suhrawardy came of a distinguished family; she was a lady of culture and deep piety. We offer Sir Hassan Suhrawardy our sincerest sympathy at his bereavement.

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THE LATE MRS. ANNIE BESANT

By the death of Mrs. Annie Besant, India has lost a talented leader who possessed power and influence not only within the limits of this land but also outside it. Mrs. Besant will be remembered not alone for her contributions to the cause of political regeneration of this country but also for her distinguished services to education. She was one of the finest speakers of her generation; her oratorical powers were strengthened as much by a voice that was deep and sonorous as by a diction that was brilliant and masterly. While mourning her loss we cannot but recall the illuminating lectures which she delivered at this University in 1925 as the first Kamala Lecturer. Her health had at that time been on the decline but her silvery voice was not yet a thing of the past and it gladdened the hearts of thousands of men who had thronged in the Senate Hall to listen to her lectures. Mrs. Besant had dedicated her life to the service of India, a cause for which she fought valiantly and suffered courageously. May her great example inspire others in the discharge of their duties to their motherland which in her case was India.

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THE LATE SRIMATI KAMINI RAY

We have also to mourn the death of a distinguished Bengali lady, Mrs. Kamini Ray who was recognised as a poetess of great renown. We publish in this issue a short appreciative note of her genius from the pen of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. In recognition of her contributions, the University awarded her the Jagattarini medal a few years ago. Her death is a great loss to the cause of Bengali literature. We offer our sincerest condolences to the members of the bereaved family.

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 THE LATE NAWAB ABDUR RAHAMAN

We have also to lament the death of Nawab Abdur Rahaman, Khan Bahadur, who was for many years a Judge of the Calcutta Small Causes Court and a Fellow of this University. He took a keen interest in the work of the University during the years he was associated with it. He was also a champion of Mahomedan education and rendered valuable services to its progress. His charming manners attracted everyone towards him and he was loved and respected by all who came into his fold. His son Mr. Latifur Rahaman is also a Judge of the Small Causes Court and a Member of the Senate. We offer him our condolences at the death of his distinguished father.

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 THE LATE MR. PATEL

The death of Mr. V. J. Patel at Geneva has removed a great Indian patriot. Mr. Patel's services to his motherland will long be remembered with gratitude by his countrymen. He was one of those men who possessed indomitable will and energy, one of those who had the courage of their convictions, and could cheerfully suffer for the attainment of their ideal. Mr. Patel was the first elected President of the Indian Legislative Assembly. During his days the Swarajists were in the Assembly which included giants like Pandit Motilal Neheru, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Lala Lajpat Rai. Mr. Patel's work as President challenged the admiration of one and all; he established conventions of abiding value and conducted the business of the House in a manner which was in accordance with the best traditions of any progressive Assembly. His mortal remains are being brought to Bombay for cremation. We mourn with the rest of the country the great loss which India has suffered by his death.

DEBATES WITH BRITISH STUDENTS

Three students of British Universities are now visiting India and taking part in debates at the Indian Universities. They are :

(1) Mr. W. Greenwood who was educated at Merchant Taylor's School and at Balliol College, Oxford. Mr. Greenwood studied Economics, Politics and Philosophy at Oxford and is now reading for the bar.

(2) Mr. J. C. McGilvray who is a graduate in Philosophy in the University of Manchester where he is now preparing to take the degree of Master of Arts.

(3) Mr. Jack Jones who entered University College, Aberystwyth, in 1931 and is now studying Law under Professor Levi.

Arrangements have been made for a debate in Calcutta on 1st November. The subject chosen is "*The World owes more to its poets than to its politicians.*" Four students belonging to this University have been selected after a competitive test held before the Puja vacation. The Indian students selected are :

- (1) Mr. Dwarkanath Chatterjee—Presidency College.
- (2) Mr. Sachindranath Dasgupta—University Law College.
- (3) Mr. Sivaprasad Mitra—University Law College.
- (4) Mr. S. Jah—David Hare Training College.

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DR. SYAMADAS MUKHERJEE

Dr. Syamadas Mukherjee who is now in Europe as a Rashbehari Ghosh Travelling Fellow has been touring various Universities on the Continent. The energy and enthusiasm which he has displayed at his age are indeed remarkable. Information has reached us that he had recently read a paper on his new methods in Geometry at the *Henri Poincare Institute* at Paris. The paper was written in French and was greatly appreciated by well-known French mathematicians who attended the meeting. He also spent some time at Hamburg where he was given a most cordial welcome. After visiting several Universities on the Continent Dr. Mukherjee proposes to spend sometime in Great Britain.

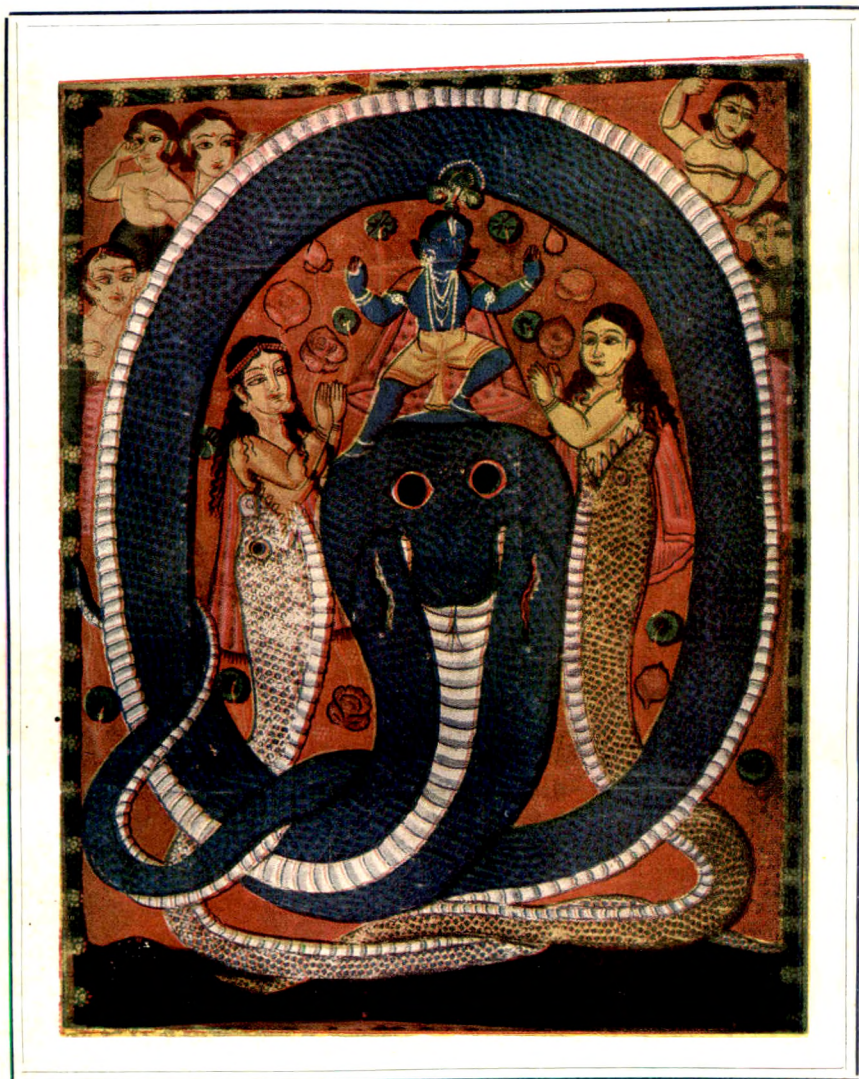
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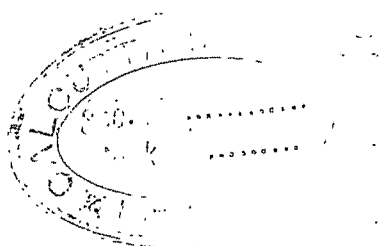
M.A. AND M.Sc. EXAMINATION RESULTS

An analysis of the results of the last M.A. and M.Sc. Examinations shows that out of 495 and 172 candidates who actually appeared in the M.A. and M.Sc. Examinations respectively, 358 and 106 came out successful as against 254 and 90 respectively in 1932. Of the successful candidates of the present year 59 have been placed in the First Class in different subjects in the M.A., and 21 in different subjects in the M.Sc. Examination as against 38 and 16 respectively in 1932. It is gratifying to note that 5 lady-students have secured positions in the First Class in the M.A. and 1 in the M.Sc.; indeed in Physics, Philosophy and Ancient Indian History and Culture (Gr. A) they have topped the list of successful candidates.



“ Kaliya-Damana ”

(Srikrishna subduing the serpent *Kaliya* : being a scene from *Krishna-lila*)



THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

PUBLISHED BY CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY



ARTISTIC RENAISSANCE IN INDIA

By G. S. DUTT, I.C.S.

Calcutta.

WHAT is somewhat loosely described as an artistic renaissance is really a renaissance, not of art itself, but of the spirit of a race expressing itself through the medium of art. The spirit achieves a renaissance by obtaining a fresh accession of inspiration and then expresses this renaissance through all aspects and spheres of life including that of language. The language through which the renaissance is expressed may be in the form of literature or of art; for art is in essence nothing but a form of language.

Being a form of language art is essentially a race-mode or a racial way of expression. Each race tends to develop a mode of expression which is its own art vernacular and which embodies in it the distinctive harmonic grammar and idiom and the aesthetic rhythm of the race-spirit or race-genius. It is only through this distinctive race-vernacular that the race-spirit can make its characteristic

contribution to the synthesis of world culture and find its culminating development in aesthetic expression.

This has now been acknowledged in the sphere of literature; but in the sphere of art this truth is not so fully admitted. On the other hand, there are many people, including Indians of eminence, who believe that art speaks through a universal language and, as a result, we find today in India numerous self-conscious attempts at the production of an eclectic art bred of an international cosmopolitanism or of an esperantist art without reference to any particular race traditions. This passes by the name of modernism. There is also another school of art in India which seeks to speak in what I may describe as a Sanskritic art language or an archaeological, antiquarian and iconographic art language. It follows the cult of classic revivalism and aims at reproducing the old classic Indian forms, formulas and motifs which were developed in certain past ages of ancient and mediaeval India for expressing modern Indian ideas and ideals.

The so-called artistic renaissance in India is an exhibition of these two unnatural tendencies and movements in varying degrees of intensity, with the result that this renaissance has been mostly a misdirected, unreal and artificial one and does not represent an organic growth of art from living roots. Both the above tendencies involve a denial of the law of growth of art as well as of other forms of expression from living roots in contemporary life; and both of them result in the production of unnatural and artificial creations devoid of the vigour and energy of life and out of touch with, and unrelated to, the life and ideals of the people belonging to the race from which the artist springs and to the harmonic mode and rhythm in which they spontaneously express themselves in their common pursuits and crafts of life.

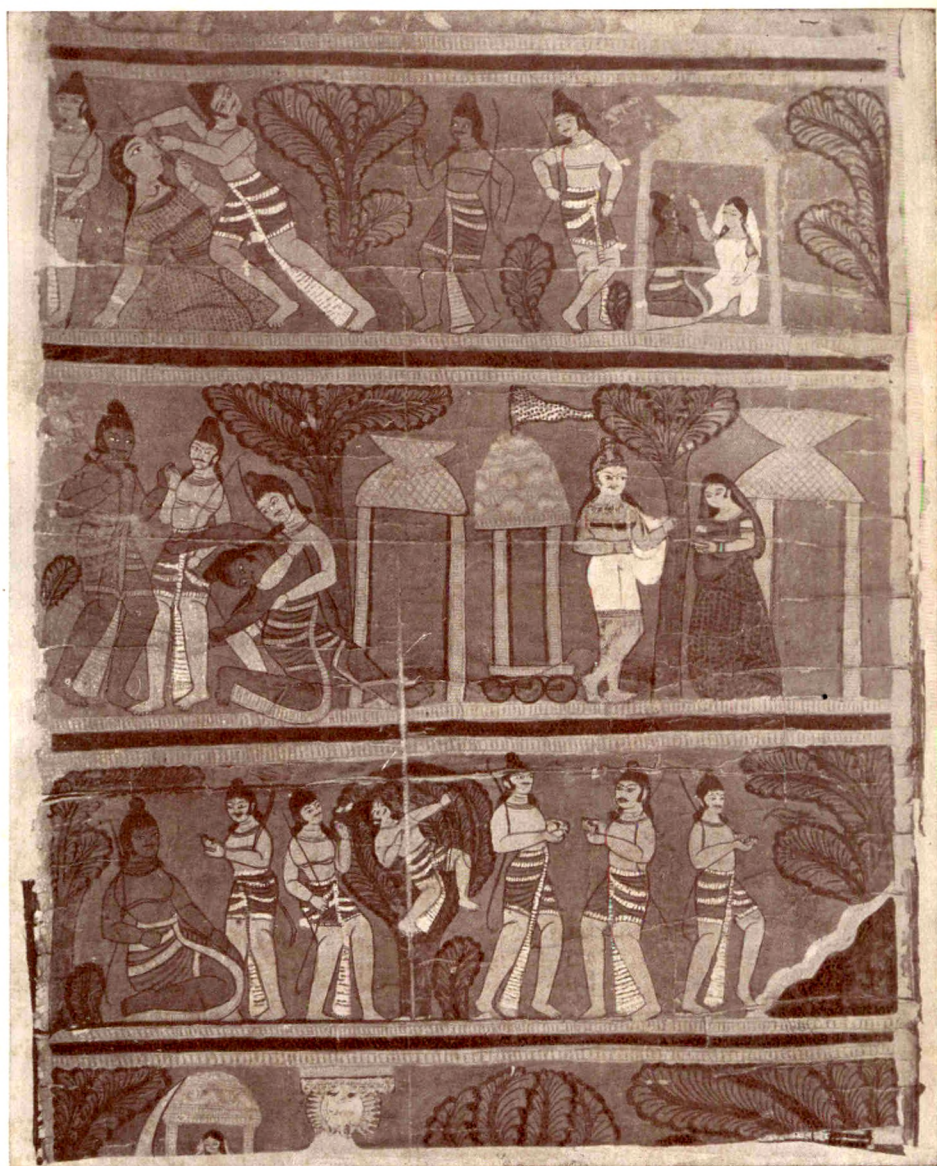
So we see a very curious spectacle. On the one hand it is now admitted that there is no such thing as a single common Indian modern language or a common Indian modern literature but that there are several Indian modern languages and several Indian modern literatures, each representing the spirit and culture of a distinctive race-group forming part of the political Indian nation. In the sphere of art, on the other hand, attempt is being made, through the ill-concealed prompting of a political motive for symbolising an all-Indian political unity, to create a make-believe all-India art-Sanskrit or art-esperanto irrespective of the distinctive racial traditions of the component races which have handed down the traditions of ancient Indian culture, each in its own way, modified in accordance with its

own distinctive race genius as moulded through its special geographical and other environmental influences as well as by special degrees of its race-admixture and other influences of a historical and cultural character. Time has come to frankly recognise the fact that modern Indian art cannot be represented by one particular form of expression based on a classic revivalism or on a particular stereotyped anatomy or style derived from archæological relics or iconographic literature, but that it really consists of a number of distinctive art languages or art vernaculars each developed by a distinctive race-unit as in the case of literary expression. These may have deep mutual affinities or resemblances by virtue of the history of their origin and cultural contacts, but they are none-the-less distinct organic entities each with valuable distinctive characteristics of its own specially adapted to the race-group whose evolutionary life and character are reflected in them. The time may come, ultimately, when through racial fusion the various races inhabiting India, which have come to develop distinctive race languages, may become one homogeneous race with one mother-language but that time is not yet. In the meantime it would be as foolish to try to make-believe that there is only one single literary language for this vast continent as that there is only one art-language for the various races that today comprise the Indian nation.

What I wish to emphasise here is the fact that if we only care to look beneath the surface we shall discover that each distinct race-group in India has its own distinctive living art tradition and that this distinctive living art tradition is the living art-vernacular of that race-group, just as the Bengali language has at last been accepted as the recognised living literary vernacular of the Bengali people. This living art-vernacular may, and will no doubt be, gradually, continuously and progressively enriched by organic assimilation and subconscious imbibement from outside influences with which the race comes into contact in the course of its evolution ; but it will not do to ignore it or to supplant it either by phantoms of classic forms and styles or by a rootless and mechanical conglomeration of the styles of other countries at the mere dictates or the whims of particular individuals or groups of individuals.

Let the Bengali, Madras, Mahrathi and Gujrati, who has already discovered and adopted his literary mother-language, now look for, discover and learn his own form-language or mother-language in art which is still used by vast sections among the rural population of his province as a distinctive spontaneous mode of

rhythmic and harmonic expression and let him express his creative genius in a natural, spontaneous and unaffected manner through the medium of that art-vernacular. Let every Bengali, Madrasi, Mahrathi and Gujrati child be given the opportunity of imbibing, like the milk from his mother's breast, not only the spoken language of his race but also its own distinctive art tradition. It is by this means only that a Bengali will grow up to be a true Bengali and a true Indian, a Madrasi will grow up to be a true Madrasi and a true Indian and so forth ; and by this means alone will he be able to make his most valuable contribution to the synthesis of Indian culture. The attempt on the part of the educated sections of different provinces of India to create a composite eclectic style by indiscriminately copying each other's styles or by adopting the styles of a past epoch is bound to prove disastrous to the genius for creative expression of the people of each province and even to their basic character ; for art has a very subtle and irresistible effect on character ; and affectation, make-believe or insincerity in art tends to produce a corresponding affectation, make-believe and insincerity in national character. Is it possible to imagine Shakespeare, who gathered his inspiration from every European country, achieving his inimitable artistic expression in Italian or Norwegian or Greek or Latin or esperanto or in anything but his own current racial English ? The appeal of his art was universal but his medium, mode and rhythm of expression was his own current racial vernacular. Unless, therefore, they establish touch with the current racial art-language practised in the rural areas of their own province by the common folk of their own race, it will be impossible for the modern Indian artists to achieve true artistic expression. Could any one, for example, imagine Rabindranath achieving his supreme literary expression if he had spurned the language of Chandidas and other Vaishnava poets and if he had not the good fortune, through a lucky accident, of being thrown into intimate contact with and filling his soul with the language, the tunes and the rhythm of the *bāul*, *kīrtan* and *bhātīal* singers of Eastern Bengal ? Could he attain this supreme aesthetic expression if he spoke and wrote in a language which was a mixture of Manipuri, Malabari and Gujrati or of Sanskrit, Pali and Persian ? And yet this is exactly what is being attempted today even by distinguished men in India in the sphere of art, namely, an attempt to impose upon the Bengali people traditions of dance imported bodily from Malabar, Manipur and Lucknow ; traditions of painting imported



Chopping off of Surpanakha's Nose
(A scene from the *Ramayana*)

from ancient Indian caves and from the courts of mediaeval Rajput and Moghul princes; and types of architecture consisting of "elegant extracts" imported from Madura, Mahavalipuram, Ellora, Agra and Delhi. Thus art and dance have been hopelessly confused with archaeology and antiquarianism and with the aspirations for an all-India political union on the one hand, and with mere prettiness, sensuous refinement, novelty and elegance on the other. The result is a plethora of pose and posturing, of affectation and aristocratic ornamentation, and of insincerity, make-believe, stage-acting and a striving for spectacular effect as well as an atmosphere of effeminacy, sensuousness and mysticism on the one hand, and on the other hand, a craze for affecting the suave and sophisticated curve and semi-nudity of Ajanta and Sigiriya, the sensuous diaphanousness of mediaeval Rajput courts, the soft effeminacy of the Manipuri female dance and the mystifying mimicry of the *mudrā* dance of Malabar—a craze for appearing oriental at any cost before Western eyes. If the traditional dances which are danced by real live Bengali men and women in the rural areas of Bengal have not got the suave "oriental" curve of Manipuri and the mystic *mudrās* of the *kathakālī*, then the latter must be imported into Bengal to supplant true Bengali dances! The result is a complete abandonment of all fixed standards and racial traditions and the production of a rootless and anchorless babel of art language which is tending to change the very character of the people of modern India, to disintegrate their souls and to destroy their originality and creative genius. To those people I would say: If your object is to earn the approbation and the money of Europeans and Americans, do so by all means by exhibiting these eclectic compilations or these pageants of pseudo-classic revivalism as "oriental" art in Europe and America; but do not unsettle the basic character of the Indians, do not disintegrate their souls and do not destroy their originality and genius for creative expression by holding these up before the plastic minds of the youths of India as models for copying in the garb of their national language of emotional self-expression. I believe that the real art of the people of modern India belonging to the various races is the very reverse of these effeminate, pseudo-archæological and insincere creations.

So far as Bengal itself is concerned, I know that the real art of the Bengali race is characterised by a simplicity and sincerity, a spontaneity, a clarity, a robustness, an innate insistence on design in

line and colour and a fitness to the practical purposes and uses of life which is the very antithesis of the academic and purposeless art which is being introduced and admired in our cities. The result of this complete ignoring of the indigenous art-vernacular of each race and province, whether out of ignorance or contempt, is a state of rootlessness, anchorlessness and spinelessness. Acting in an ancient style may be all very well on the stage or in a pageant; and esperanto may be useful in the field of commerce, administration and politics; but these have no place in the sphere of emotional creative self-expression of the spirit of a race which is a very different affair altogether, affecting the very quality of its soul. Here continuity of living race traditions, spontaneity, sincerity and unself-consciousness are of supreme importance to the healthy development and the faithful expression of the spirit. You may, with impunity, change even the religion of a people but not its innate and spontaneous idiom of life and self-expression which is only another name for art.

This criminal ignorance and neglect of, and contempt for, the art-vernacular of each province by the universities and educated classes is unfortunately fast leading to the disappearance of priceless race traditions and race forms and to the drying up of the fountain heads of national art in India. The disappearance and destruction, through neglect and contempt, of race forms created by race culture and race tradition often means an irreparable national loss to a people for centuries to come by taking away living roots from which, and genuine foundations on which, to build up and develop national character, national ideals and a truly national system of education, just as in the sphere of sociology, loss of a valuable traditional form of national organisation and expression; namely, that of the Indian village community, has left Indian rural life adrift for centuries and is proving an insuperable obstacle to the reconstruction of genuine organic life and to the building up of a strong and stable civic structure in India to this day.

I propose to show you today by means of actual examples that there is a distinctive Bengali art-language and art tradition which has hitherto been despised and ignored by our universities as well as by our artists, art critics and art pundits; but that just as Calcutta University has at last accepted Bengali as the medium of linguistic expression, so time has come when the Universities of Bengal and its educated classes should accept this indigenous Bengali art tradition as the basic art-vernacular of the Bengali people. It



Scenes from *Krishna-lila*

is only by rescuing this art-vernacular of Bengal from extinction and by its adoption as the foundation of art teaching in Bengal that the spirit of the Bengali race can retain its distinctive characteristics, regain its power of creative expression and achieve its culminating development in the sphere of art. For the reasons explained above, the art of the Neo-Bengal urban artists is not the real national art-vernacular of Bengal. In its archæological, antiquarian, sentimental, historical and literary preoccupation in subject and in technique, this imitative urban art displays a sad lack of the innate Bengali genius for form and design. It uses idioms and motifs which are foreign to and unintelligible to the great mass of the Bengalee people. It is only in the rural and indigenous art of Bengal that we shall find that art-vernacular which is the true expression of the spirit of the Bengali people, embodying the basic idiom of their soul. We shall find that this Bengali art-vernacular, although bearing the impress of the "national mark" of Bengal, represents with greater purity and faithfulness than the art traditions of any other province or race in India, the original pre-Buddhistic, and one may almost say, pre-Aryan, main-stream of art tradition of continental India practically unadulterated by foreign influence and unaffected by court influence or priestly and monastic influence; and that it has distinctive and positive qualities of its own by virtue of which it can bear comparison with the art of any other epoch in India. It has retained the unsophisticated, spontaneous and virile character of primitive art and is at the same time replete with objective loveliness. It is distinguished by the fundamental characteristics of true art through a reliance on the basic art-alphabets of pure and robust line and colour form—particularly the latter, an innate insistence on design, an avoidance of unessential embellishments and a spontaneous harmonising of abstract and naturalistic idioms of expression; and it is not the mysterious, esoteric and academic monopoly or the wanton and idle plaything of a self-appointed and privileged art-aristocracy but the common spontaneous activity and birth-right of the men and women of the whole race as the natural "Bengalee way" in every walk and sphere of life, in craft and industry, play and pastime, work and worship.*

* Lecture delivered before the Cultural Association of the University of Calcutta on 13th September, 1932. The lecture was illustrated with lantern slides.

ANGLO-JAPANESE RIVALRY AND THE FUTURE

By DR. TARAKNATH DAS, PH.D.

San Remo, Italy

I

IT is generally regarded that if in the near future a war breaks out in the Pacific, it will be between America and Japan or between Japan and Russia. But as things stand today there is a greater possibility of an Anglo-Japanese War.

To be sure that there are conflicting interests between Japan and Russia in the Far East; but a Russo-Japanese War in near future is not so probable. The present rulers of Soviet Russia are not sentimentalists but realists, and they are determined to avoid an armed conflict with Japan which may prove disastrous for Russia. This attitude of the Soviet government became quite apparent from the fact that it was willing to sell its rights of the Chinese Eastern Railway to the government of Manchuoko, a protectorate of Japan. Mr. Litvinoff's significant diplomatic victory in signing several non-aggression pacts—specially with Poland and Roumania—has decidedly strengthened the position of Soviet Russia. Yet the menace of a National Socialist Germany, with its deliberate programme of eastward expansion has frightened Soviet Russian statesmen to such an extent that they are seeking French co-operation, if not the revival of the Franco-Russian Alliance of the pre-World War days. A Russo-Japanese conflict will undoubtedly upset Russia's growing power in European politics and may provide a splendid chance for Germany to carry out her threat of an eastward expansion at the cost of Russian security. It seems that for this reason alone, Soviet Russia will try to avoid a conflict with Japan.

Furthermore a Russian defeat (which may be a possibility) in any war will be followed by a Revolution which will end the present regime; therefore the leaders of Soviet Russia are interested in avoiding a war with Japan. They are most anxious to concentrate on augmenting economic, industrial and military power of the State for future emergencies. It is possible that the present Russo-Japanese tension will pass without an armed conflict. It may be added that although Japan is prepared to fight Russia if it be necessary, yet

every far-sighted Japanese realises that if Japan be engaged in a war with Russia, other powers may use the opportunity in ousting her from various markets of the world. A Japanese-Russian war would benefit Great Britain, Germany and the United States the most from the standpoint of commercial expansion. Therefore the Japanese are not anxious for a Russo-Japanese War.

II

Just as the Russian leaders are anxious to avoid a war against Japan, similarly there are many Japanese leaders who are convinced that an American-Japanese war will not only hurt Japan, but will strengthen Britain, Germany and Russia. In spite of much talk of commercial rivalry between America and Japan in the Far East, the fact is that expansion of American trade in the Far East really does not hurt Japan very much, because American-Japanese trade relations are not competitive but supplementary.

A Tokyo despatch dated October 6th, 1933 from the very well informed American journalist Mr. Wilfred Fleisher, published in the *New York Herald Tribune* (Paris) of October 7, 1933, gives the following interesting and suggestive views of Japan's veteran statesman, Viscount Ishii, an ardent advocate of Japan's Monroe Doctrine for the Eastern Asia, regarding the present tendency of Japan's policy towards America and the agitation behind the talk of an American-Japanese War:—

"An agreement between Japan and the United States pledging never to resort to war was urged by Viscount Ishii, who was interviewed today on his way to Tokio from Kobe, where he arrived yesterday from London. Viscount Ishii said he favors the conclusion of an arbitration treaty with the United States providing for the renunciation of war.

"Viscount Ishii declared: 'Relations between Japan and the United States do not appear at present to be very cordial, but an agreement to improve the relations could be reached if the two nations show the determination never to wage war in the future.

"It is possible that certain European countries desire war between Japan and the United States, so that they can wrest their markets from them, but America would never commit the folly of sending her fleet to the Far East to engage in battle with the efficient Japanese navy. If the leaders of both countries agree never to resort to war there would be plenty of ways of averting it. The Disarmament Conference should be conducted in this spirit and we must not permit other nations to rob us of our markets."

There is every reason to believe that America and Japan may easily come to an agreement by signing an arbitration treaty and by mutually agreeing to respect each other's rights in the Far East. If Japanese statesmen follow this policy steadfastly, it is conceivable that the Government of the United States under President Franklin D. Roosevelt (who does not believe in a war with Japan) will re-establish the same form of cordial relations between Japan and the United States as was done by the late President Theodore Roosevelt, after the signing of the Root-Takahira Agreement.

To understand the full significance of the statement of Viscount Ishii that "*it is possible certain European countries desire war between Japan and the United States, so that they can wrest their markets from them,*" one must inquire which European countries are effective competitors of Japan and the United States in world markets. It happens that Great Britain and Germany are the powers; and it is very significant that in British and German circles one hears pronounced anti-Japanese discussions and prophecy about an American Japanese war.

III

The actual situation in world politics of today is that Britain is Japan's greatest rival. To illustrate this point, I quote a few extracts from an article by Dr. Tyler Dennett, Professor of International Relations, Princeton University:—

"Japan and Great Britain a generation ago were what may be described as 'natural friends,' if one is willing to adopt the convenient and sound though somewhat, 'cannibalistic philosophy' of nationalism. In those days the two nations had common interests in their desire to keep open the trade doors in China, in their opposition to Russia and in a similar co-operative policy in the Pacific. Today the situation is quite changed. Japan and Great Britain are now clearly '*natural enemies*': they are engaged in no common effort anywhere, and over a considerable portions of the earth, they are relentless competitors. They compete for the carrying of trade, for naval supremacy in the Far East and most of all, for many markets where a generation ago Great Britain had to fear only Germany.

Japan's most dependable outlet for manufactured goods is not in America, where silk is a luxury and subject to fickle fashions, but in Asia and Africa, where cheap cotton garments are all one style and the alternative of wearing them is nakedness. Here Japan and Great Britain have come to grips with results that make it not difficult to plot the curve of Anglo-Japanese relations for the next generation. A

trade war has been developing not merely in Manchuria and China, where Great Britain is powerless to influence the results, but in Malaya, in East Africa and in India, where British industrial interests still can influence the tariff. Already London has informed Tokyo that at the expiration of six months the most favored-nation clause shall not apply in British West African colonies, while the Government of India has already imposed an additional duty on Japanese imports, from 75 to 87 per cent. on cottons. Now comes the government of the British Federated Malaya States with new duties on low-grade products from 30 to 80 per cent. Thus the lines are closing in on Japan which is almost certain to adopt retaliatory measures.....

"Equally disturbing to Anglo-Japanese relations is the Japanese demand at Geneva for naval parity. Parity in the Far East and South Pacific means not parity at all but a Japanese naval supremacy which would cast its long shadow westward across the Indian Ocean as well. Japan has a colonial Empire to defend and trade arteries to protect. They lie, in part, in what were only a few years ago unquestioned British trade preserves. Now Japan has as much reason for seeking to maintain and extend her position as Great Britain had when she fought the Second Afghan War or when she fortified Zanzibar, or more recently, when she laid out the Singapore naval base. Let us therefore keep in mind the fact that today Japan and Great Britain, so recently effusive partners in the famous Anglo-Japanese Alliances, are no longer "natural friends"; *today they are 'natural enemies.'*"

Prof. Dennett is regarded as one of the foremost authorities of Far Eastern Politics and his opinion should not be lightly taken by any one.

Those who have carefully watched the evolution of Japanese bitterness against Britain will testify that it began after the World War, when Britain decided to give up the Anglo-Japanese Alliance to cultivate closer collaboration with the United States. The Japanese blame British statesmen for deliberately following a policy during the Washington Conference and afterwards, which might have led to complete isolation of Japan in world politics. It is also argued in Japan that the British government and officials secretly encouraged China to oppose Japanese policy in the Far East and used the League of Nations against Japan. They further accuse Britain of carrying on world-wide anti-Japanese propaganda through the activities of the Lytton Commission. The Japanese people regard that the Singapore naval base is a serious menace to Japan's national security. Furthermore the Japanese people resent Britain's objection to Japan's naval parity.

In certain section of Great Britain, bitterness against Japan is so acute that responsible papers and persons have directed a veiled threat of economic boycott of Japan by all the members of the League of Nations ; and others have even advocated suspension of diplomatic relations, because of Japan's refusal to submit to the decision of the League of Nations on the Manchurian question.

In short the present Anglo-Japanese tension may be well compared with the Anglo-German commercial rivalry before the World War. If during the next Naval Conference (which may be held in 1935-1936) Japan refuses to cut down or limit her naval power according to British proposals, then it is certain that the present Anglo-Japanese commercial rivalry would take the form of an ugly and dangerous Anglo-Japanese naval rivalry full of serious possibilities.

Historians of the World War have made it clear that Anglo-German naval rivalry—Germany's refusal to agree to Britain's suggestions of limiting German navy—was one of the prime causes of the World War. If the present Anglo-Japanese commercial rivalry be followed by a naval rivalry between these two powers, the future is dark. Therefore one may safely predict that between 1935 and 1936 one may expect a serious crisis in Anglo-Japanese relations. In such a crisis American and Indian attitude will play very important parts in making Britain's decision. It is inconceivable that Britain will ever enter into a war with a first class power as is Japan, unless she feels absolutely sure that the Indian people would support her wholeheartedly in such a serious undertaking. Possibly for this very reason and to win the confidence of Indian Princes, Indian Moderates and others, the British authorities are going to extend some form of concessions towards Indian self-government. Furthermore, if during an Anglo-Japanese conflict the United States of America remains neutral, Britain will become economically the loser, even if she wins a victory over Japan. Therefore the British policy is to influence the United States of America to make a common cause with Britain against Japan. It is very problematical how far the United States would go in this matter. America went to the World War to aid Britain and her allies and now she finds herself hated by these powers for whom she fought. American foreign policy is becoming nationalistic and American statesmen may refuse to fight Britain's battle against Japan. ■

It is often said about the World War that the statesmen of Europe stumbled into it without intending to have the world conflagration. It is evident that both Japan and Britain are consciously

falling apart; and an Anglo-Japanese rivalry may lead to a world conflagration in which India will have to bear a very heavy burden. Let us hope that all friends of world peace and especially Indian statesmen with vision will use their influence in averting such a possible calamity.

LAW IN LITERATURE *

By THE RT. HON'BLE VISCOUNT FINLAY

WHEN it was suggested to me that I should, in accordance with an ancient practice recently revived, deliver a Reading in Hall, I had, I must confess, great difficulty in finding a theme upon which I might hope with any profit to address you. Two of those who have recently preceded me were more fortunate in that respect. Master Sir Cecil Hurst was a member of a great International Court. Master Hart had recently been a member of another International Court hardly less important. In the scope, the history, the practice, the procedure, of their respective Courts they had subjects ready to their hands certain to interest their hearers. I had not their good fortune but I did, though after a good deal of reflection, find a subject which, I thought, might interest you. Having found a subject I then had a further difficulty—to find a title which would at all express it. The title which I have selected is, I am conscious, a great deal too wide and too ambitious, and, in order that those who have done me the honour to come to listen may be as little disappointed as possible with what is to follow, I will at once explain that what I wish to do is to bring before you certain contacts of law and literature, certain books or passages in books, which, dealing with law and lawyers, may be of interest to those whose privilege it is to study the law.

Of the many books to which reference might be made in this connection, I can mention but a few. This is due partly to my own ignorance, partly to those inexorable limits of time most properly imposed on an occasion of this sort.

There is one omission so glaring and so obvious that I had better at once explain it. About Shakespeare I propose to say nothing. His works contain one of the most celebrated of trials and innumerable allusions to law and lawyers. More than one learned disquisition has been written on the subject of law in Shakespeare and Shakespeare's legal attainments. One such, written by Lord Chancellor Campbell, produced comments from persons so variously eminent as Lord Macaulay, Charles Dickens, Dean Milman, and Mr.

* A Reading delivered before the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple. Published by kind permission of Lord Finlay and the Treasurer of the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple.

Gladstone. If I were to attempt to deal with Shakespeare, my treatment of him would inevitably be inadequate, and further, I should have time to deal with no one else. This does not appeal to me and about Shakespeare I am, therefore, silent.

I may begin by a brief reference to Bacon, eminent as a lawyer, still more eminent as a philosopher and a writer. In a short work of his (it can be read in a very few minutes), the *Essay on Judicature*, the office and duties and attributes of a judge are discussed with that massive common sense which is one of the distinguishing notes of the Essays.

Biography

Biographies I must pass by with the slightest mention. I may, however, be allowed to point out how greatly the reading of legal biographies can add to the interest of the study of law, can make the dry bones live. Surely one will read with far more interest a judgment of Lord Mansfield's, if one knows that he was not only the greatest master of our commercial law, but also the subject of a famous line of Pope's, a wit and a statesman who, if he had not preferred to devote himself to the task of elucidating and developing the common law, might probably have been Prime Minister at a critical moment in our history. And surely, too, the figure of that eminent member of this Inn, Lord Eldon, not perhaps very romantic or interesting, is clothed with a greater interest when one reads of that really romantic episode when, from a window of a house still to be seen on the quay at Newcastle-on-Tyne, Bessie Surtees descended by a ladder to run away with the then young and impecunious John Scott.

It is from that point of view that, without attempting any detailed discussion, I would commend to your notice Campbell's *Lives of the Chancellors and Chief Justices*. These books have been much criticized as being superficial and deficient in dignity both of language and thought, but they contain a vast amount of information and they are eminently readable and entertaining. Of far higher merit from a literary point of view is Atlay's *The Victorian Chancellors*. Indeed, it is admirably written and presents a series of skillfully executed portraits of the Victorian Chancellors, including that extraordinary man, Henry Brougham, not strictly a Victorian Chancellor at all.

Then there are, of course, many biographies of individual judges—one of the best being Cunningham's *Life of Bowen*—adorned as

it is by specimens of the judgments, speeches, verses, letters of Lord Bowen, sometimes grave, sometimes gay, but always unfailingly delightful.

One other biography I will mention. It is a life of a Bencher of this Inn of whom we are all justly proud. I need hardly say that I refer to Mr. Marjoribanks' *Life of Lord Carson*, unhappily unfinished. Those who have the privilege of knowing Lord Carson, those who have seen him and heard him in Court and in House of Commons, will, I am sure, agree that the lamented author has, with singular skill, presented a portrait of one of the most dominating, arresting, and interesting figures of our time. He has also given us admirable accounts of many trials : in Ireland during the earlier part of Lord Carson's life and in England during his later period—always interesting, sometimes amusing, and sometimes rising to great heights of drama. This leads naturally to my next topic.

Famous Trials

There is a whole literature—I must touch on it still more slightly—devoted to descriptions and reports of real trials. Of such descriptions I will select one single example, the description, in Macaulay's History, of the *Trial of the Seven Bishops*. Matthew Arnold, in a well-known passage, has said that Lord Macaulay had his "heightened way of putting things". The account of the trial of the Seven Bishops perhaps illustrates Matthew Arnold's remark, but so vivid is the narrative that it is impossible, I think, to read it without feeling something at least of that absorbing interest and emotion which, we are told, so deeply affected the spectators of that great trial. If any one here should contemplate reading or re-reading Macaulay's account, may I suggest that he should do so with the report of the case in the State Trials (that great collection which illustrates at so many points both our law and our history) at his elbow ?

The Novelists

I turn now to what is my main theme—law and lawyers, as they have been described in some of our great novels. I begin with Sir Walter Scott, and I take first the trial scene in the *Heart of Midlothian*. There is no scene in Scott's novels more charged with emotion, none more admirable in its restraint and in the humour—Saddle-tree the legal pedant, and others—introduced to lighten the gloom.

Its central theme, of course, is the conflict in the soul of Jeanie Deans between the desire to save a sister's life and the determination at all costs to tell the truth—a conflict resolved in the way all who have understood the character of the heroine—so sound, so noble, but also so austere—must feel to be inevitable. The trial is full of interest. Scott was writing of what he thoroughly understood; he was describing a trial, supposed to have taken place less than a century before he wrote, in that High Court of Justiciary in Edinburgh with which he was perfectly familiar. Apart from the dramatic interest of the story, it is well worth reading as a picture, done by a master-hand, of a Scottish criminal trial in the reign of George II.

My next example is taken from *Redgauntlet*, and shows Scott in a lighter vein. In Poor Peter Peebles we have an incomparable description of a type with which we are all familiar—the poor half-insane litigant who haunts the Courts. Peter's conference with his solicitor and counsel and the scene at the Court—particularly the plan adopted to ensure that his presence should not make his cause ridiculous—abound with the richest humour, though there are touches which show how slight may be the line that divides true humour from true pathos.

Before I leave Scott I would refer to *Guy Mannering*—perhaps on the whole his masterpiece. It contains in Pleydell a perfect sketch of a Scots lawyer—alike in his graver hours and in his hours of relaxation. One remark of Pleydell's I may quote to you. He was showing Colonel Mannering his library, "the best editions of the best authors," and he said: "These are my tools of trade. A lawyer without history or literature is a mechanic—a mere working mason; if he possesses some knowledge of these he may venture to call himself an architect".

With these words put into the mouth of Pleydell but representing—no one can doubt it—the opinion of his creator, I leave Sir Walter, and, in leaving him, would add only this, that if anyone is sufficiently interested to desire to study in more detail law in Scott's novels he will find ample material in a book to which my fellow-Bencher, Lord Craigmyle, drew my attention, *Sir Walter Scott and Scot's Law* by David Marshall.

I come to Charles Dickens, and there I am indeed embarrassed by the wide field open to my choice. Of the vast number of characters created by Dickens a very substantial proportion were lawyers, or directly connected with the law. I am compelled to a rigorous selection. *Bleak House* is associated in all our minds with Jarndyce

v. Jarndyce, the interminable Chancery suit, and with the lawyers, including the Lord Chancellor himself, who took part in that slow-moving drama. The description, in the first chapter, of a murky November day in London and of the Lord Chancellor sitting in the fog in Lincoln's Inn Hall has never, I think, been excelled by its author, unless possibly in the description in *David Copperfield* of the storm at Yarmouth.

About *Bardell v. Pickwick* it is unnecessary that I should say much, for I suppose no passage in the whole range of English fiction is more familiar than the report of that case. It would be presumptuous to praise it, but I may perhaps mention three points which may be of some interest to students.

I. It is worth noting that neither Mrs. Bardell nor Mr. Pickwick was allowed to give evidence. This was due, of course, to the remarkable state of the law which, until 1851, prevented the parties to an action, who are in most cases likely to know more about the facts than anyone else, from giving evidence. The matter has been neatly expressed thus—

“ If a farmer in his gig ran over a foot-passenger in the road, the two persons whom the law singled out to prohibit from becoming witnesses were the farmer and the foot-passenger ”.

It is a curious fact—but we have it on the authority of Lord Campbell, who was Chief Justice at the time and must have known—that, when the Bill to make parties competent witnesses was introduced, all the Common Law Judges except one were opposed to it. The important point for our present purpose is, that the state of the law when *Pickwick* was published has diminished for ever the public stock of amusement, by making impossible a cross-examination of Mr. Pickwick by Sergeant Buzfuz.

2. The examination of Mr. Winkle by Mr. Skimpin appears to be most irregular and such as no judge would have allowed.

3. It may be doubted whether Sergeant Snubbin (who was himself in Court throughout) would have left in the hands of his inexperienced junior the cross-examination of so important a witness as Mr. Winkle.

But I feel I ought almost to apologize for these petty criticisms of a great masterpiece.

There has, I think, of late been a revival of interest in Anthony Trollope, but the interest has perhaps not extended much beyond that Barchester series, which no doubt contains on the whole his best work and which, as a picture of the ordinary provincial life of its period,

has, I suppose, never been excelled. It is, however, to a novel outside the Barchester series—to *Orley Farm*—that I wish now to call your attention. There you will find, together with much admirable description of life in mid-Victorian England and a pleasant love story, a history, told in much detail and in parts with a dramatic force unusual in Trollope, of a lady who, having as a young woman forged a codicil and given false testimony about it, is, after a lapse of many years, tried on a charge of perjury, and acquitted. The story of the preliminaries and of the trial itself is full of interest, and it will become not less, but more, interesting to the student if he takes the trouble to detect some breaches of legal etiquette and some slips in legal forms and legal procedure of which Trollope is guilty. It is perhaps an interesting speculation what would have been the effect on the story if the prisoner had then been competent to give evidence on her own behalf. As you are all aware, that change in the law was made only in 1898.

Samuel Warren's *Ten Thousand a Year* must be mentioned. That novel depends for its main interest upon a legal atmosphere, legal characters, and a legal plot—a plot the correctness of which, from a legal point of view, was, if my memory serves me, vindicated by the author in a series of copious notes. I must confess that when, many years ago, I read the book, I was disappointed, but it must always possess an interest for lawyers and, if once unduly admired, it is now unduly neglected.

I must be content with an even briefer mention of another and a very different novel of the Victorian period. George Eliot's *Felix Holt the Radical* has always seemed to me rather dull, but it would be wrong to omit all reference to a novel, by so eminent an author, which depends for a vital part of its plot upon a base fee.

To the late Victorian period belongs *Weir of Hermiston*—that fragment (for it is no more) which suggests that, delightful as are many of the books which Stevenson left us, he died with his masterpiece unfinished. The principal character is a sketch of that great, coarse, cruel Scottish Judge, Lord Braxfield. The character of Lord Braxfield obviously interested Stevenson. Not only is he the principal character of Stevenson's last novel. In one of the early essays—that on *Some Portraits by Raeburn*—Lord Braxfield is sketched, and with something of that gusto which, as is there said, Raeburn showed when he painted his portrait. “The tart, rosy, humorous look of the man, his nose like a cudgel, his face resting squarely on the jowl,

has been caught and perpetuated with something that looks like brotherly love ”.

Lord Braxfield is described very forcibly but not very favourably in an admirable book by a distinguished Scottish Judge—Lord Cockburn's *Memorials of his Time*. To us here it must always be interesting to remember, in connection with *Weir of Hermiston*, that Stevenson was aided on a vital point in the plot, which he never lived to complete, by a note by Mr. Graham Murray—now Lord Dunedin and a Bencher of this Inn.

I have always thought—it is a purely personal opinion, and I speak wholly without authority in such matters—that one of the best of short stories is one by Thomas Hardy in *Life's Little Ironies*, called “ On the Western Circuit.” I cannot, owing to this personal predilection, refrain from mentioning it, but it is proper that I should admit that the legal element, though not entirely absent, is less prominent than the title would suggest.

I hope and believe that no apology is needed for a reference to two works in a lighter vein.

Everyone here—I doubt not—knows almost by heart the trial scene in *Alice in Wonderland*. The jury of animals and birds with their slates and pencils ; the King as presiding Judge with his “ Consider your verdict ” before any evidence was given, and then at frequent intervals throughout the trial ; the Queen's correction “ No, no, sentence first, verdict afterwards ” ; the suppression of the guinea pig's applause ; the Hatter's evidence—this is a phantasy delightful to everyone, but peculiarly so to those whose everyday work lies amidst

brawling Courts

And dusty purlieus of the law.

W. S. Gilbert's *Trial by Jury* is no doubt at its best when seen on the stage and when the delightfully humorous words are set off and adorned by the music of Sir Arthur Sullivan. But the words are well worth reading. The Usher's song, the admirable song of the Judge, the speech of the plaintiff's counsel from which I cannot resist one brief quotation—

Swiftly sped each honeyed hour
Spent with this unmanly male ;
Camberwell became a bower,
Peckham an Arcadian vale ;
Breathing concentrated Otto,
An existence *à la* Watteau.

and the song in which the plaintiff endeavours to inflame, and the defendant endeavours to mitigate, the damages—all these constitute a most pungent satire in which the weaker side of a trial by jury is ruthlessly exposed and ridiculed.

I think it best to say nothing about works by authors still living, and I refrain, with difficulty, from any discussion of "Forensic Fables," of "Misleading Cases," and of Topsy's experiences as a jurywoman. When I first projected this Reading, I had intended in this place to mention, but only to mention, Mr. Galsworthy. By his death English literature has suffered a severe loss. I may perhaps call to your attention, as possessing a direct interest for lawyers, four of his plays—"The Silver Box," "Justice," "Escape," and "Loyalties"—the last, if I may venture an opinion, the best and most interesting of all its author's plays. For the rest I may perhaps suggest as an interesting theme to some collector of curiosities of law the obligations of novelists to Lords of Appeal. A few moments ago I drew your attention to the assistance which Stevenson received from Lord Dunedin. A letter in *The Times* last February shows that Mr. Galsworthy was able, in dealing with points of law in one of his novels, to command the erudition of Lord Macmillan.

I come to the last book about which I would speak. Some of you may have noticed that, while I have dealt—most inadequately, I fear—with Dickens, I have said nothing about his contemporary and rival, Thackeray. Both these great men were, as you all know, students of this Inn. To Dickens' connection with the Inn we owe, I doubt not, the fact that in *Martin Chuzzlewit* the meeting place of Tom and Ruth Princh was the fountain just outside this Hall. To Thackeray's connection with the Inn we owe that chapter in *Pendennis*, "The Knights of the Temple," which must always have so special an interest for us in this Hall. I feel that, with a reference to that chapter, I reach an appropriate end. There are sketched the life of the Temple and its associations both legal and literary, sketched in parts with that rather acid humour of which Thackeray was master, in parts with a grace not unworthy to be compared with that of Charles Lamb's Essay "The Old Benchers of the Inner Temple", recently annotated with scrupulous and delightful skill by my brother Judge, Mr. Justice Mackinnon. In this chapter—The Knights of the Temple—the dinner in this Hall is described. Thackeray calls the Hall that of the "Upper Temple," but this deceives, as it was intended to deceive, no one. He tells us how here a man may sit down and fancy that he joins in a meal of the seventeenth century. Improvements, of course, there must be

and, indeed, I imagine that a meal of the seventeenth century would be very little palatable to a man living in the twentieth century. But improvements—inevitable improvements—here are made and, as I trust, always will be made, with a due regard for, and reverence for, that great and historic past which Thackeray, in common with many hundreds of others who have eaten dinners in this Hall, felt so profoundly.

With this chapter in *Pendennis*, a chapter which may be said to belong to everyone of us here in this Hall, I end.

My object—and I can only hope that I have not entirely failed in it—has been to suggest to those who are still young, who are on the threshold of their great profession, who, with their minds fresh and faculties untired, are beginning the study of the law, a means whereby they may vary and lighten, and, so to speak, illustrate their labours in the law by excursions into some of the most delightful fields of English literature.

RAMMOHUN ROY : THE FIRST PHASE

(From New and Unpublished Sources)

By BRAJENDRANATH BANERJI

Calcutta

OF all the stages of Rammohun's many-sided career, his youth and early manhood is the one most lacking in authentic details. What we know of Rammohun's life before the commencement of the 19th century is both vague and meagre and almost wholly based on hearsay and late tradition. We were thus faced with a forbidding scantiness of material when I came upon two very important sources of Rammohun's biography. They are, first, the old Revenue records of the Government of Bengal and, second, the papers of an extremely important case in the Equity Division of the Supreme Court, Calcutta, in which Rammohun was involved.¹ Owing to the fact that almost all his properties were implicated in this suit, we have in these documents a wealth of detail regarding the sources and the stages of acquisition of Rammohun's wealth and property which is wholly new. They contain a good deal of information about the circumstances of the family when Rammohun was a young man, and thus form an important source of information for his early life as well. It is mainly with the help of this find that the following outline of the first phase of Rammohun's career has been reconstructed, while the Revenue records have been of invaluable help in filling up the gaps and checking the testimonies of the witnesses in the case.

Rammohun Roy's Ancestry and Childhood

Rammohun was born into a family of combined landed proprietors and State employees who were coming into prominence in Bengali society towards the latter half of the 18th century. His great-grandfather, Krishnachandra Banerjee, was in the service of the ruler of Bengal, who conferred on him the title of *Roy-Rayan*. He had three sons, the youngest of whom, called Brajabinode, was the grandfather

¹ I have been enabled to utilize this last-mentioned source through the kindness and help of Mr. Khagendranath Chatterjee.

of Rammohun and was also, as Rammohun himself says in a memorial sent to Lord Minto in 1809,

..... at various times chief of different districts during the administration of His Highness the Nawab Mohabut Jang [Alivardi.]¹

The Mughal Emperor Akbar Shah II also wrote to Rammohun about

the good services rendered by your grandfather to his late Majesty [Shah Alam II], at the time of his residence in the Eastern Provinces.²

Ramkanta Roy, Brajabinode's fifth son, was the father of Rammohun. He, too, like his forefathers, is said to have served the Court at Murshidabad in his early life. But our records show him at Radhanagar in his later years, engaged in the management of his property.

Brajabinode Roy had six sons besides Ramkanta, and their names were Nimananda, Ramkishore, Radhamohan, Gopimohan, Ramram and Bishnuram. All of them, including Ramkanta, were living in the same ancestral homestead at Radhanagar with their wives and children, but at some unspecified time they had become separate both as regards food and property. Ramkanta Roy was married thrice. His first wife, who was called Subhadra Devi, had no children. The second, Tarini Devi, was the mother of two sons, Jagamohan and Rammohun, and a daughter whose name is not known. The third wife of Ramkanta, whose name was Ram-mani Devi, had one son, Ramlochan Roy who was the youngest of Ramkanta's sons. As some confusion exists on this score it is necessary to state here that Ramlochan Roy and Ramtanu Roy are two different persons, the latter being the son of the above-mentioned Gopimohan Roy.³

Of the two sons of Tarini Devi, Rammohun was the younger. He was born while Ramkanta was living at his ancestral house at Radhanagar, but we have no means as yet of ascertaining the authentic date of his birth. The generally accepted date is 1774, though Miss Collet

¹ For the full text of this petition the reader is referred to my article on *Rammohun Roy and an English Official*, published in the *Modern Review* for June, 1929.

² See my monograph on *Rammohun Roy's Political Mission to England*, pp. 3-4.

³ Deposition of Ramtanu Roy taken on August 27, 1818. Ramtanu was the son of Gopimohan Roy, brother of Ramkanta Roy, and was cited as a witness on behalf of the defendant—Rammohun. In his deposition Ramtanu describes himself thus: "Dewan aged 38 years or thereabout He was the Dewan to the Salt Agent at Tamluk which situate (*sic*) he resigned on the 23rd February last... He maintains himself by the rents and profits of his real estates and the interests of his personal estates He was in the situation of Dewan at Tamluk for about one year, previous to which he was employed as Naib Dewan to the said Salt Agent for about six months and during that period he was employed as Peshkar also."

prefers May 22, 1772, on the authority of information indirectly derived from Ramaprasad Roy, the younger son of Rammohun. The only contemporary data about Rammohun's age we have at present are two statements of Mr. Digby that when he met Rammohun first, the latter was twenty-seven years of age, and that in 1817 he was about forty-three. We shall see below that there is reason to think that Digby first met Rammohun in 1801. This as well as the other statement would give 1774 as the year of Rammohun's birth. I am inclined to accept this provisionally, though it would not be safe to dogmatize about it.

Whatever may have been the date of his birth, there can be no doubt that the childhood of Rammohun was spent in the Radhanagar house. There, at the age of 14, he became acquainted with Nandakumar Vidyalankar of Palpara near Sukhsagar, who later became famous as Hariharanandanath Tirthaswami. The current tradition is that Rammohun met him first at Rangpur. This, however, is shown to be incorrect by the testimony of Vidyalankar himself, who says "that he hath known Rammohun Roy from the time [he] attained the age of fourteen years and hath ever since been on the most intimate terms with him."¹ As a matter of fact, Hariharanandanath was associated with Rammohun not only in spiritual matters as is generally believed, but in business transactions as well. As Nandakumar Vidyalankar or Hariharanandanath was a teacher by profession in his early life it is tempting to suppose that Rammohun learnt Sanskrit from him.

In 1791 Ramkanta Roy removed with his three wives, three sons and a grandson on the daughter's side to Langulpara—a village not far from Radhanagar, where he built a new house and settled down with his branch of the family.² The causes which led to this removal are not known, but the ancestral house was probably getting over-crowded and Ramkanta was perhaps desirous of living more comfortably without however giving up the right to his share of the ancestral house. He was in very prosperous circumstances at this time, for, in addition to his other properties, he had, in May, 1791, taken in farm from the Company, for nine years (1198-1203 B. S.), the pargana of Bhursoot whose annual *sadar jama* was assessed at Rs. 1,01,389. His eldest son Jagamohan was his surety for this farm.³ Ramkanta Roy was apparently training his sons in the

¹ Deposition of Nandakumar Vidyalankar taken on 27th August, 1818. Nandakumar Vidyalankar was the *guru* of Rammohun Roy and was cited as a witness on his behalf. He describes himself thus: "Pandit aged fifty-six years or thereabout He is a Brahmin and maintains himself by the donations and contributions of his disciples *shishyas*."

² Depositions of Ramtanu Roy and Gurudas Mukherji.

³ Board of Revenue Procs., dated 2nd May, 1791, Nos. 30, 35.

vocation of a landlord from an early age. In 1794, an important *taluk* called Harirampur in Chitwa Pargana was bought at a revenue sale in the name of Jagamohan Roy,¹ and a Bengali letter dated 22nd March, 1796 (12 Chaitra, 1202 B. S.),² proves that young Rammohun was also engaged in looking after his father's property from an early age.

The new house, which Ramkanta built at Langulpara and in which he established new idols, was the typical house of a well-to-do landed proprietor of the age. We have a very full description of it in the Board of Revenue records, because more than twenty-five years later the Government was proposing to bring it up for sale for arrears of revenue due from Ramkanta's son Jagamohan and had a minute inventory prepared. This inventory shows that the residential portion of the house stood on 16 bighas of *Brahmottar* land, with tanks and orchards, in which there were 100 mango, 70 cocoanut and 200 palmyra trees. The palmyra trees stood on the banks of a big tank to the east of the house occupying 18 *bighas* of land. There were two other smaller tanks. Part of the property which was occupied by the buildings was surrounded by 700 cubits of brick wall, and within the enclosure were *pucca* as well as straw *baitak-khana* houses, a straw *nat-mandir*, an *atchala*, other single and double-storied buildings, a *pucca bhandar* room, two straw kitchens and two *durwaza* houses, both *kutchas* and *pucca* with accommodation for menials. Some of these were of quite a fair size. The six-roomed *pucca* building in the zenana, for example, was slightly over fifty-two feet long. Like all Bengali houses of the age it was a rambling affair, more like a collection of homesteads than one house. Some of us may even now have faded recollections of such houses seen in our childhood, and it was in this characteristic Bengali setting that Rammohun's adolescence and early manhood was spent.

Partition of Property and After

The family was apparently maintaining its outward appearance of opulence and unity when an important legal transaction took place towards the end of 1796. On December 1, 1796 (19th Agrayayana,

¹ Letter, dated 14th August, 1794, from S. Davis, Collector of Burdwan, to the Board of Revenue, Calcutta. *Board of Revenue Procdgs.*, dated 19th August, 1794, No. 4.

² Published in the *Nabyabharata* of 1303 B. S. (Ashwin, p. 284).

³ Enclosure (Separate Paper No. 1) to letter, 19th January, 1818, from A. Campbell, Collector of Midnapur, to the Board of Revenue, Calcutta. *Board of Revenue Consultation*, dated 27th Jany., 1818, Nos. 32-33. Also Enclosure (Separate Paper No. 1) to letter, dated 8th May 1822, from J. Digby, Collector of Burdwan, to the Board of Revenue, Calcutta. *Board of Revenue Con.*, 17th May 1822, No. 8.

1203 B. S.), Ramkanta Roy executed a document by which he divided the greater portion of his immovable property among his three sons, reserving only a part for himself. This deed, which all the three sons of Ramkanta endorsed, was attested by seven witnesses, and Ramkanta had the seal of the *Qazi* of Krishnagar (Khanakul)—Khadumoashshira—affixed to it. In this deed Ramkanta Roy wrote :

You three will enjoy and possess the dwelling houses and tanks and *Ber* gardens and so forth according to the shares which I have defined and allotted to you three. The wearing apparel, goods and effects, ornaments and so forth which I have given severally to individuals are become theirs. I have not given any cash to either of you three. Whatever goods and effects, ornaments and so forth I may give hereafter to individuals severally, shall become theirs, for which there shall be no mutual claims among you three one and against the other. A small part of my self-acquired property and the Burdwan lodging house remain my own exclusive of the shares I have given to you three. You have no concern with my debts and dues extant contracted before this and what shall be so hereafter and with what I may earn from this day I will give the same to whomsoever I please. I have no concern with what you may earn. My own share of the worship of *Ishur* which devolved from my father remains yours three persons in equal shares. All the idols and worship connected with the worship which I have established myself, remain mine, you have no concern therewith. Jagamohan Roy and Rammohun Roy the lands given by your maternal grandfather are become the property of you two. The lands given by Ramlochan Roy's maternal grandfather are become Ramlochan Roy's. I give the lands and tanks whereof Bills of Sale have been obtained by the daughter of the late Bhattacharya in the names of her own sons Jagamohan Roy's, etc. to her. I give to the daughter of the said Ramshankar Roy the lands which she has purchased. Should a claim be ever preferred for the same one against another it is false. I give the entire *taluk* Harirampur in Chetooa Pargana to Jagamohan Roy. With this *taluk* Rammohun Roy and Ramlechan Roy have no concern. Year 1203, date 10th Agrahayana.¹

It will be seen from this that Ramkanta Roy gave something to his two younger wives, but that nothing fell to the share of the childless Subhadra Devi.

¹ The original document is in Bengali. The English version given is from the translation given in the schedule to Govindaprasad Roy's plaint, dated 23rd June, 1817. The correctness of this translation was admitted by Rammohun.

All the sons endorsed this document in identical words :

I Sri.....Roy write I take the dwelling house and so forth which you have allotted to me according to the particulars on this sheet. I will enjoy and possess according to this allotment. Should I ever prefer any claim to any of the items specified, against anybody, or if any one prefers it, it is false. Year 1203, date 19th Agrahayana.

By this partition, which amounted to a gift, Rammohun got the following properties :

Sri Rammohun Roy's Share.

<i>Mauza</i> Nangoorpara : Dwelling and Ber house, Hall bounded by four boundaries together with trees etc. and the tank towards the private door and the new tank with its banks four boundaries. Of all these one moiety	...	1 One Item
Gohalbatee's Ber with trees, etc., and Halls bounded by four boundaries	...	8 Eight Bighas
In <i>Mauza</i> Crishnnogar : Soorjdas Roy's Ber Paddy Lands	...	9 Nine Bighas
Paddy lands at Cotholyarcoond	...	3 Three Bighas
Poorunchuck in Parg. Chundercoona	...	70 Seventy Bighas
My own share of the paternal Ber in <i>Mauza</i> Kettyadul	...	1 One Item
House with a pond bounded by four boundaries purchased of Ramcrishn Set and others at Jorasanko in <i>Mauza</i> Calcutta	...	1 One Item
My own share of the paternal tank at Gopinathpoor	...	1 One Item.

Without going into the details of the other two brothers' shares, it may be stated that, roughly speaking, all the brothers got shares of equal value, with one exception. This exception was that Jagamohan Roy got the *taluk* of Harirampur which had been bought in his name and with which somehow or other he seems to have been specially associated. Of the dwelling houses, that at Langulpara went to Jagamohan and Rammohun in equal shares (value of Rammohun's share being four to five thousand rupees), while Ramlochan got his father's share of the ancestral house at Radhanagar. Another important point to note is that Rammohun Roy got the Calcutta house of Ramkanta at Jorasanko, which was valued at about Rs. 3,000.

Though such a partition and gift could take place at the father's option under the *Dayabhaga* laws in their original form, it cannot be

said that it is or was ever a common occurrence in Bengal. It is, therefore, natural to ask if any special reasons existed for it—a query which it is not at all easy to answer. The documents I have been able to consult do not offer any explanation. So we are left wholly to conjecture or at best inference. In the special interrogatories prepared on behalf of Rammohun and intended for Tarini Devi, if produced, there is a passage which refers to the reasons for the partition. It runs:

Did you not hear from the said Ramkanta Roy why or for what reason he had made such partition of his property during his lifetime? If yea, declare what reasons were assigned by the said Ramkanta Roy for so dividing or allotting his property.....

Tarini Devi was not, however, produced before the Court for examination, and thus we have no answer to this question. But as this set of interrogatories was prepared with a view to cross-examining her, it is quite likely that she had something to do with the partition and a probable hypothesis is that the quarrels between the two younger wives of Ramkanta were one of the reasons which led to it. The fact that Ramlochan Roy was given the Radhanagar house and shortly afterwards removed there with his mother lends some support to this view. This does not, however, exclude alternative or additional explanations, of which I shall put forward one for what it is worth. We know from the deed of partition as well as from other sources that Ramkanta was more or less indebted at this time. He had two or three months before the partition executed a *kistbandi* bond to the Raja of Burdwan binding himself to pay in instalments a sum of Rs. 7,501 on account of the arrear *jama* of parganas Buleea, Bugdee, etc., in one year and by the 15th Ashvin 1204 B. S. (28th Sept., 1797). Bearing this obligation in mind Ramkanta might have made an attempt to safeguard a part of his property for his sons at the expense of his creditor. That in the end he managed to evade this particular payment by “pleading his want of means,”¹ is a further confirmation of the assumption.

However that might be, the separation became a legal fact. Whether it was also real is an interesting though difficult question. There is no doubt that so far as Ramlochan Roy and his mother were concerned, the separation was actual as well as legal. But the situation in regard to Ramkanta, Jagamohan and Rammohun is more complicated. About twenty years after the partition, Govinda-

¹ See *Calcutta Review* for August, 1931, pp. 162-65.

prasad Roy, the son of Jagamohan, brought a suit against his uncle Rammohun claiming his due share in the properties then held by Rammohun on the ground that Ramkanta, Jagamohan and Rammohun had reunited after the partition and that the properties in the actual possession of Rammohun were the properties and acquisitions of a joint, undivided Hindu family. This claim was vigorously disputed from Rammohun's side. He categorically denied that "immediately or shortly or at any time after the said partition the said Ramkanta, Jagamohan and the defendant [Rammohun] reunited and lived together as a Hindu family or became again and were joint and undivided in food, property and in all other respects," and produced witness after witness, all, it must however be admitted, his relations and friends and persons under obligation to him, to prove that Ramkanta, Jagamohan, and he had never reunited with one another and had all three kept separate accounts of their earnings and expenditure. He admitted that after the partition, he and Jagamohan Roy remained the joint owners or co-sharers of the Langulpara house, that the families of the two brothers lived together under the superintendence and management of their mother Tarini Devi, and that they both paid the expenses of their mother Tarini Devi and their stepmother Subhadra Devi, of their respective families and of the religious services at their house in equal proportions, but he denied that these expenses were paid out of "any common stock or fund" and further said that Ramkanta, he and Jagamohan "were in all other respects unconnected with each other," having "separate and distinct servants and establishments for the service, accommodation and ceremonies of each other and of their respective families" and that the contributions of the two brothers towards the common expenses were paid into the hands of certain *sarkars*.

This state of affairs, though a little illogical and confused, might after all be what actually existed, for even now we come across Hindu families which are separated as regards title to property but united to all outward appearance. This is the result of an unstable and weak compromise between conservatism and self-interest, but it is quite probable that Rammohun's and Jagamohan's families were, as a witness put it, "united in food but divided in property."²

On the other hand, there is no need to take a legal defence at its full face value, particularly when there is independent evidence

¹ Rammohun Roy's answer filed on 4th October, 1817.

² Deposition of Becharam Sen, produced on behalf of the complainant—Govinda-prasad Roy. Becharam was "formerly a *Mohurir* in the service of the defendant for several years since 1215 and of the complainant from Ashar, 1224."

to show that the affairs of Ramkanta, Jagamohan and Rammohun were not as distinct and self-contained as Rammohun tried to prove was the case. We have already seen that *talua* Harirampur in Chitwa pargana was expressly allotted to Jagamohan in the deed of partition to the exclusion of any claim from anybody else. Yet, I have come across a letter, dated 11th July, 1800, in the Board of Revenue records in which the Collector of Burdwan writes that Ramkanta Roy "is generally supposed to be the actual proprietor of Harirampur, although it is registered in the name of his son."¹ Three years later, in connection with a case of default by Jagamohan Roy, the Collector of Midnapur also wrote that "his father [Ramkanta]... is said to have had the joint management of all his concerns."² In addition to these two statements, we find from two Bengali letters of Rammohun himself, dated 21st February, 1798 and 28th February, 1799,³ that he was issuing instructions from Bhursut in respect of properties which were neither allotted to him in the partition nor included in the list of the properties which were self-acquired by him, and which, accordingly, must have belonged to his father. All these important contemporary evidence goes against Rammohun's categorical statement that the affairs of the father and the sons were wholly distinct.

There are also other indications of Ramkanta's continued interest in the affairs of his sons and of his desire to help their worldly advancement. In the period after the partition he was acting as the Muktear of Maharani Bishen Kumari of Burdwan and held the management of her estates. During that time and with her money he purchased some *mauzas* in a revenue sale in the *furzee* or substituted names of his son Jagamohan and two other persons. For some years Jagamohan not only enjoyed the actual benefits of this property, but tried to make his possession more secure by applying at the Collectorate for a separation from the other *benamdars*, while his father tried to transform the *benami* title of his son into a real title by manufacturing a proof of resale from Maharani Bishen Kumari to Jagamohan. Jagamohan's right to the property was, however, promptly contested by Maharaja Tej Chund after the death of his

¹ Letter, dated 11th July, 1800, from R. Cunningham, Collector of Burdwan, to the Board of Revenue.—*Board of Revenue Procdgs.*, dated 15th July, 1800, No. 14.

² Letter, dated 25th March, 1803, from T. H. Ernst, Collector of Midnapur, to Wm. Parker, Actg. Collector of Burdwan.—*Board of Revenue Procdgs.*, dated 22nd April, 1803, No. 3.

³ Published by Pandit Mahendranath Vidyavidhi in the *Nabyabharata* of 1303 B.S. (Ashwin, pp. 284-85).

mother in November, 1798, and after a prolonged litigation the case was decided in the Maharaja's favour.¹ There is reason to think, as we shall presently see, that Ramkanta tried to help Rammohun also with money and landed property even after the partition.

We must now come back from the discussion of probabilities to what actually took place after the partition. Within a short time of it Ramlochan Roy removed to Radhanagar with his mother and lived there till his death in Pous 1216 B.S. (Dec.-Jan., 1809-10). Ramkanta went to Burdwan and occupied himself with the management of some zamindari's which he had farmed from the Government and the Raja of Burdwan, and of that part of his property which he had reserved to himself; as well as of the estates of Maharani Bishen Kumari whose Muktear or agent he was. From this date till his death he lived for the most part at Burdwan and fixed his residence in the house which he had kept for his own use.² This did not, however, prevent him from remaining in close touch with his family which he occasionally visited. He went both to Langulpara and Radhanagar, and all his sons, too, visited him at Burdwan whenever they could or wanted. We have the specific testimony of one witness that Rammohun occasionally visited his father at Burdwan when he was not absent from home.³ But none of Ramkanta's wives ever went to see or live with him for any time at Burdwan.⁴

In the Langulpara house, the partition brought about very little outward change except the removal of Ramlochan and his mother. Tarini Devi remained there with her sons and their wives as well as her grandson on the daughter's side (Gurudas Mookerji) and perhaps also her daughter. As we have already seen, it was she who supervised and managed the affairs of the family, and under her, to all appearance, masterful control of the secular as well as the religious routine of the affairs of the family was strictly maintained.⁵

Turning now to Rammohun himself, we find that there is less paucity of information about his activities in this than in the previous

¹ See Sadar Dewani Adalat Reports, Vol. I, pp. 257-59: "Raja Tej Chandra Vs. Jugamohun Roy."

² Answer of Rammohun Roy filed on 4th October, 1817.

³ Deposition of Radhakristo Banerji Bhattacharya taken on 21st August, 1819. He was cited as a witness of the complainant—Govindaprasad Roy. "He went daily to Langulpara family as an officiating Brahmin."

⁴ Deposition of Guruprasad Roy taken on 1st October, 1818. Guruprasad was the son of Neemananda Roy, eldest brother of Ramkanta Roy. He describes himself thus: "Zamindar aged 47 years or thereabout.....He was in the employ of Ramkanta Roy from 1204 to 1207 B.S."

⁵ Rammohun Roy's answer filed on 4th October 1817.

period, though it cannot be described by any means as full or abundant. But small as this information is in quantity, it nevertheless establishes some very important and reliable fixed points in Rammohun's life, from which it is possible to construct an articulated skeleton of his career. We learn from the testimony of Guruprasad Roy that about nine months after the partition Rammohun went to reside in Calcutta. There is nothing surprising in this, because Rammohun had probably had the Calcutta house of Ramkanta assigned to himself with a view to living there. But it does not seem probable that he fixed his permanent residence in Calcutta so early. There are other documentary testimonies which show him at different places at this time. Piecing all these indications together it seems probable that from 1796 to 1800 Rammohun was coming and going between Calcutta and the different places at which the other members of his family or its properties were.

The same Guruprasad Roy tells us that when Rammohun went to Calcutta he left his "wives" at Langulpara. He must, therefore, have been married more than once before 1797, and his wives must have been living in that year. It also seems probable that one of Rammohun's marriages took place after or very shortly before the same date, for we find Nandakumar Vidyalkar (Hariharanandanath Tirthaswami) deposing with reference to the year 1799 that Rammohun "was married at or before the time of the date of the said paper-writing [1799]," but that he had not "at that time or before any child or children by such marriage or otherwise."

The immediate occasion of Rammohun's going to Calcutta in 1797 was most probably a business transaction. In 1797 he lent a sum of seven thousand and five hundred rupees to the Hon'ble Andrew Ramsay, a Civil Servant of the East India Company, who was Assistant to the Collector of Midnapur till 1797 and went to Benares towards the close of that year as Assistant to the Commercial Resident. The money was sent by Rammohun through his *sarkar* to the office of an attorney where the Hon'ble Andrew Ramsay executed a bond.²

¹ It is worth while to give here the current account of Rammohun's marriages. According to William Adam his first wife died at a very early age after which his father, when he was only about nine years of age, married him within an interval of less than a twelve month to two different wives. Nandamohun Chatterji, a descendant of the Roy family, says that the name of Rammohun's second wife was Srimati Devi and that of the third, Uma Devi (eldest sister of Madanmohun Chatterji of Bhownipur). The second wife, who is said to have died in 1824, was the mother of all of Rammohun's children. The third wife (childless) survived him. The information now before us indicates that Rammohun was married at least once after he had reached the years of discretion.

² Deposition of Goloknarayan Sarkar taken on 11th May, 1819. Goloknarayan was cited as a witness on behalf of Rammohun. He describes himself thus: "A sarkar residing at Simla but out of employ. Knows defendant for 23 or 24 years."

As Guruprasad Roy says that Rammohun went to Calcutta nine months after the partition, and as Ramsay joined his appointment at Benares in December, the transaction must have taken place sometime between August and November, 1797.

The next two mentions of Rammohun's whereabouts are to be found in two of his own letters dated 21st February, 1798, and 28th February, 1799, respectively, which contained instructions about certain business matters and were written from Bhursut. Bhursut, it will be recalled, was the *pargana* which was taken in farm by Ramkanta from the Government for nine years from 1791 to 1800 and in which some of Ramkanta's ancestral properties were situated.

In the following year, Rammohun transacted a far more important business. On 12th July, 1799 (30 Ashar, 1206 B.S.), he bought at Burdwan two *talugs* called Govindapur (in Jahanabad Pargana) and Rameshwarpur (in Chandrakona Pargana) for Rs. 3,100 and Rs. 1,250 from Gangadhar Ghosh and Ramtanu Roy respectively.¹ These *talugs* were two of the most important properties held by Rammohun. The net income which accrued from them to Rammohun after paying all expenses and the *sadar jama* (which was Rs. 21,868-12-0 in 1799) was between five and six thousand rupees.

An incidental, but important, question arises in connection with the loan to Andrew Ramsay and the purchase of the two *talugs* mentioned above. In his plaint Govindaprasad Roy contended that the money for these transactions was given by Ramkanta Roy from a common fund. Rammohun, however, denied this and asserted that neither Ramkanta nor Jagamohan had any connection with these transactions and that all the money was his own. There is, however, this difficulty in the way of accepting Rammohun's version as correct that we cannot explain where Rammohun got so large a sum of money from. He lent seven thousand and five hundred rupees to Andrew Ramsay within a year of his getting his share of the paternal property. So far as we know, he was at home during all this time, without employment or additional sources of income of any kind. Besides, the property which he got from his father was not so extensive as to give him this sum of money in less than a year, and we have no proof that at this time he sold any part of his property. The Calcutta house which was the only property received from his father ever sold by him with a view to converting his landed resources into liquid assets, was alienated much later. These objections hold true in the case of the purchase of Rameshwarpur and Govindapur

¹ Answer of Rammohun Roy filed on 4th October, 1817.

also, though in a lesser degree. On the other hand, Ramkanta Roy was in very prosperous circumstances at that time. He was then managing the affairs of the Burdwan zamindari and holding important zamindaries in farm in his own name. Another important consideration to be borne in mind is that by the deed of partition Jagamohan Roy got the *talug* of Harirampur, the income of which was between five and six thousand rupees a year, while Rammohun got nothing half so profitable. We have also seen that Ramkanta was helping his son Jagamohan to acquire more property by virtue of his position at Burdwan. It was, therefore, not at all improbable that he should have done the same for his second son and wished to place both the brothers in equal affluence.

Evil Days of the Roy Family and Rammohun's Prosperity.

The closing year of the 18th century saw a disastrous turn in the fortunes of the Roy family as a result of which it was almost wholly ruined in three years. On November 9, 1798, Maharani Bishen Kumari died and with her Ramkanta's power and influence at Burdwan came to an end. On July 13, 1799, Maharaja Tej Chund brought a suit against Ramkanta and Jagamohan in order to recover the *benami* property of his mother which the father and the son were trying to get for themselves. Early in 1800 Ramkanta's farm of Bhursut Pargana expired and he was found to be in arrears of revenue for the year 1206 B. S. The arrears due to the Maharaja of Burdwan for the zamindaries taken in lease from him also reached the high figure of about Rs. 80,000 by this time. By the middle of the next year (1800) Ramkanta was put in *dewani* jail by the Government. He, however, managed to pay a part of the arrears due, *viz.*, Rs. 3,338-2-5 being principal and interest, himself, and the balance was realized from the sale of the lands of his son, Jagamohan, who was his surety.¹ He thus became free from his debt to the Government and was released from the Hooghly jail early in October, 1801. But immediately afterwards he was again put in jail by the Raja of Burdwan who kept him first at Hooghly and afterwards in the *dewani* jail at Burdwan. In 1801 Jagamohan Roy failed to pay the revenue of Harirampur for the year 1207 B. S. He was arrested in June, and kept in the Midnapur *dewani* jail from which he did not come out till 9th March, 1805, and his *talug* of Harirampur was sold in lots in 1801-02. Even after this measure the Government was inquiring about the resources of the family so as to compel the defaulter to pay.

¹ Board of Revenue Procdgs., 9th October, 1801, No. 57.

But these inquiries did not yield great results, and in 1803 the Collector of Burdwan wrote :

I have made enquiries respecting the truth of Ramlochan's assertions [about the inability of the family to pay] from such persons as were immediately near me, and...they all agree in declaring that they believe the family, although once opulent, to be now in ruined and desperate circumstances.¹

Rammohun alone escaped this ruin through his astuteness and enterprise. He must have known the affairs of the family well and been anticipating the events. Towards the end of 1799 we find him putting his own affairs in order and preparing to go to "Patna, Benares, and to other provinces remote from Calcutta," obviously in search of employment.² Three legal documents, all concerning the business affairs of Rammohun in this year have come down to us. The first of them is a *kistbandi* bond (in mixed Persian and Bengali)³ executed by Rammohun for Rs. 17,989-6-0, constituting the revenue of the *taluqs* Rameshwarpur and Govindapur from Sravan to Chaitra of the Bengali year 1206. Rammohun had apparently not been able to pay the revenue and was putting the whole affair on a business footing so that the *taluqs* might not be put up to sale for arrears of revenue. The second and the third documents, which were closely related, are respectively a *kabala* written in Persian but signed in Bengali, and a Bengali *ikrarnama* attested to by three witnesses among whom was Rammohun's *guru*, the famous Hariharanandanath Tirthaswami, *sakin* Raghunathpur. By the first document which was executed on 7th Paus, 1206 (20th December, 1799), and registered at Hooghly on 10th January, 1800, before A. Cockburn, Registrar, Rammohun made a sale of his *taluqs* Rameshwarpur and Govindapur to his friend and relation, Rajiblochan Roy, for a sum of Rs. 4,001.⁴ This was, however, a fictitious or *benami* transaction for which no money was actually paid, though Rammohun acknowledged before witnesses that he had received the money.⁵ The *ikrarnama* which

¹ Letter, dated 30th March, 1803, from W. Parker, Actg. Collector of Burdwan, to the Actg. Collector of Midnapur.—*Board of Revenue Procdgs.*, 22nd April, 1803, No. 3.

² Deposition of Rajiblochan Roy; Rammohun Roy's answer.

³ মকলুগে সতর হাজির নও শত উনকিই ছয় আনা আঠার গড়া জমা ইস্তক শ্রাবণ নাগাদী আখেরি ঈরামমোহন রায় সা নঙ্গু উপাধি ১২০৬।—Mixed Persian and Bengali Records (Board of Revenue),

WK
No. 4—², p. 625.

⁴ This document gives the following information regarding the parties: "Document executed by Rammohun Roy son of Ramkanta Roy and grandson of Braja Binode Roy of Nangurpara Zila Hooghly in favour of Rajib Lochan Roy son of Madan Mohan Roy grandson of Ram Gopal Roy of Jara, Pargana Chandrakona, Zila Hooghly."

⁵ Deposition of Rajiblochan Roy taken on 19th and 20th April, 1819: Rajiblochan was, as Rammohun says in his answer, "a confidential friend of this defendant." He was "Zamindar aged 50 years and upwards."

bore the date 7th Paus (20th December, 1799) and was given by the same Rajiblochan Roy to Gurudas Mookerji, the nephew (sister's son) of Rammohun, who was not present there and was only a boy of about eleven, runs as follows :

আপনকার অনুমতিতে ও টাকায় লাট রামেশ্বরপুর মোতালক পরগণে চন্দ্রবোণা ও লাট গোবিন্দপুর পরগণে জাহানাবাদ দুই লাটের সদর জমা ২১৮৬৮১৯ শ্রীরামমোহন-রায়ের নিকট সন ১২০৬ সালের ৭ পৌষ যঃ ৪০০১ টাকা সিক্কা পনে আপন নামে আপনার বেনামিতে খরিদ করিলাম। এই দুই লাটের মালিক ও দান বিক্রীর অধিকারী আপনি আমার সহিত কি আমার ওয়ারিসানের সহিত কিছু এলাকা নাই।

কোন মিছা দাওয়া আমি ইহাতে করি কিম্বা কেহ করে সে বাতিল এবং মিথ্যা।

This document was, however, delivered not to Gurudas Mookerji or his legal guardian but to Rammohun who kept it with himself.¹

The obvious intention of the transaction completed by the two last-mentioned documents was to keep the title of Rammohun to the *talucs* as much in the background as possible and at the same time to enable him to assert his rights against everybody whenever he chose to do so. And it cannot be doubted that the intention was realized to the full by the documents. The *kabala* was a regularly registered document and, to all intents and purposes, a valid deed of sale, unless its *benami* nature could be definitely proved. This is always a difficult matter. So, in order to safeguard himself against any possibly fraudulent intentions of Rajiblochan Roy, Rammohun had the *ikrarnama* executed in favour of a minor, who in his turn could not prove a real title. The threefold effect of this transaction was, therefore, this: first, the *talucs* to all outward appearance were Rajiblochan Roy's; secondly, Rajiblochan could not prove a title to them on account of the *ikrarnama* which was taken by Rammohun; and thirdly, Gurudas Mookerji, too, had no real title, and not only because Rammohun kept the *ikrarnama* in his own possession, but also because he could not prove a *bona fide* purchase, or a real payment of money by himself or his father or mother on his behalf.

Such was the transaction. What were the motives, it may be asked, behind all this *finesse*? On this point Rammohun himself says:

... sometime in or about the year of Christ 1800 this defendant was about to proceed to Patna Benares and to other provinces remote from Calcutta and considering the uncertainty of life and having at that time no child this defendant was desirous that in the event of his death happening during his absence from Calcutta, one Gurudas Mookerji then an infant of the age of ten or eleven years and who was the only son of

¹ Deposition of Nandakumar Vidyalankar.

this defendant's sister should after this defendant's death inherit or become entitled to the said two *talugs* of Rameshwarpur and Govindapur and that this defendant therefore as is usual amongst Hindoos caused a nominal transfer of the said two *talugs* to be executed to the said Rajiblochan Roy who was a confidential friend of this defendant in trust for the said Gurudas Mookerji.¹

From both Rajiblochan Roy's and Gurudas Mookerji's depositions we, however, find that the transfer was made with the object of better and more convenient management of the property during Rammohun's absence.

It must be admitted that the latter explanation is more admissible than that of Rammohun, which is highly coloured and, on the face of it, not quite straightforward. We have already seen that the transaction conferred no real title on Gurudas Mookerji, and in the event of Rammohun's untimely death he could not make good his claim as against Rajiblochan, or Rammohun's legal heirs even with the *ikrar-nama* in his possession. On the other hand, when this transaction took place Rammohun was actually expecting a child, and as we shall presently see, his wanderings were neither so long nor so risky as is implied in his statement. Besides, Rajiblochan expressly states that the reason for the transfer assigned by Rammohun himself at the time of its occurrence was the better management of the properties. It is, therefore, very likely that Rammohun was using Gurudas only as the tool of his legal subtlety.

But there might have been another and no less important motive besides the plea of better management. The financial situation of the Roy family was at that time very precarious and shortly afterwards Rammohun's father was put in the *dewani* jail for his debts. Anticipating this event, Rammohun might have, of his own accord or at the prompting of his father, sought to protect his most valuable properties against being involved by any chance in the general débâcle.

Anyway, the transaction was completed and in all probability Rammohun set out on his journey shortly afterwards, before his son Radhaprasad was born towards the middle of 1800.² We know from the documentary evidence before us that Rammohun went to Patna and Benares at some time between 1800 and 1803, and, though no dates are given of his stay at these places, there can be no doubt that it was at this time that Rammohun went there. From December

¹ Rammohun Roy's answer filed on 4th October, 1817.

² Deposition of Rajiblochan Roy.

1797 to 1802 Andrew Ramsay, to whom Rammohun had lent some money, was at Benares, and it is likely that Rammohun went to him for employment or help. We shall presently come across one undoubted instance of Rammohun's serving under a Civilian obliged by him with a loan.

Rammohun's stay at Patna, Benares and whatever other places he went to was not, however, of long duration, for we find him again in Calcutta in 1801.¹ In this year he employed as his *tahbildar* or "cash-keeper" one Gopimohan Chatterji who remained continuously in his service and managed his affairs in Calcutta. From the statement of this man we find that Rammohun was keeping an establishment at Calcutta, all along, while he himself went to different places in the mofussil—such as "Patna, Benares, Rangpur and Dacca and sometimes Jessore"—on account of employment or business. For a year or two after coming back to Calcutta, he does not, however, seem to have gone to any distant place. It was during this period perhaps that Rammohun began to associate with the Qazi-ul-quzat of the *Sadar Dewani Adalat* and the Head Persian Munshi of the College of Fort William, as well as with the principal officers of those two institutions. The following passage in a memorial of Rammohun to Lord Minto (dated April, 1809) supports this conjecture:

The education which your petitioner has received, as well as the particulars of his birth and parentage, will be made known to your Lordship by a reference to the principal officers of the *Sudder Dewani Adalat* and the College of Fort William, and many of the gentlemen in the service of the Hon'ble Company, as well as other gentlemen of respectability and character.

The word 'education' in this passage would suggest that Rammohun was indebted in some way for his education to these Muhammadan officials, or at any rate they had special opportunities of acquiring first-hand knowledge of Rammohun's intellectual attainments. It is not at all unlikely that Rammohun carried on his Islamic studies with these officials, and Calcutta was in those days a great centre of Muhammadan learning, thanks to the interest taken by the new rulers of the country in the laws and customs of their predecessors.

There is further confirmation of Rammohun's special association with the learned Maulvis of the *Sadar Dewani Adalat* and the College

¹ Deposition of Gopimohan Chatterji taken on 28th September, 1818. Gopimohan was "Muktear aged 32 years," and was cited as a witness on behalf of Rammohun. He describes himself thus: "A *tahbildar* or cash-keeper in the service of the defendant since 1208 B. E.....having lived for 17 or 18 years with Rammohun Roy in Calcutta."

of Fort William in a letter (dated 31st Jany., 1810) written by Mr. John Digby to the Board of Revenue relating to Rammohun :

I now beg leave to refer the Board to the Qazi-ul-Quzat in the Sadar Dewani Adalat, to the Head Persian Munshi of the College of Fort William, and to the other principal officers of those Departments or the character and qualifications of the man I have proposed.

It was perhaps at this time also that he made the acquaintance of Digby, who, as we know from State records, arrived in this country as a Writer in December, 1800, and, before joining his first appointment as Assistant to Registrar of City Court of Dacca in August 1804, had to enter the College of Fort William in order to acquire the necessary knowledge of Oriental languages. This is in perfect accord with Digby's statement that he made his first acquaintance with Rammohun when the latter was twenty-seven years old (*i.e.*, in 1801 according to our calculation).

In Calcutta, Rammohun was also engaged in monetary transactions of various kinds. He bought Company's Papers and dealt in them,² and in the next year (1802) lent a large sum of money to another Civilian, Mr. Woodforde. His *tahbildar* Gopimohan Chatterjee says that in 1209 B.S. (1802) "he had Rs. 2,000 on his hands on account of Rammohun and Rammohun desired him to bring Rs. 3,000 from Joykissen Singh..... which sum of Rs. 5,000 was by order of Rammohun delivered to Juggernaut Mozumdar the reputed Sarcar of Thomas Woodforde, Esq."³

A few months after this (March, 1803) Rammohun went to Dacca-Jelalpur (the present Faridpur) as Mr. Woodforde's Dewan. Mr. Woodforde was perhaps very glad to accommodate in this way a man to whom he was under a heavy pecuniary obligation.

Rammohun's tenure of dewanship was, however, very short. He joined his appointment at Dacca-Jelalpur on the 7th March, 1803, and relinquished it on the 14th May next. The reason for this was

¹ Another statement about Digby's acquaintance with Rammohun occurs in a letter addressed by him to the Board of Revenue on 30th December, 1810. In this he wrote :

"...The opinion I have formed of his [Rammohun's] probity and general qualifications in a *five years' acquaintance* with him,....."

Though this statement is at variance with what has been said above, the discrepancy is only apparent. In this passage Digby was obviously referring to the period during which Rammohun was actually serving under him, which dates from 1806 when Digby was officiating as Magistrate of Ramghar Zila and where Rammohun acted under him in the capacity of Sheristadar of the *Faujdar* Court.

² Deposition of Gurudas Mukherji taken on 30th April and 1st May, 1819. Gurudas was the sister's son of Rammohun and was cited as a witness on behalf of the defendant. At the time of deposing he was "Sheristadar aged 32 years or thereabout."

³ Deposition of Gopimohan Chatterji.

perhaps the departure of Woodforde from Dacca-Jelalpur on account of ill-health.

About this time Ramkanta Roy, Rammohun's father, died. He had been leading a troubled existence after his release from the *dewani* jail of Burdwan. He had paid Rs. 500 to the Raja of Burdwan and executed a *kistbandi* bond to him for the balance which was to be cleared off in eleven years. His eldest son was in the *dewani* jail at Midnapur. His own creditors and those of his son were still pressing for payment, and the only chance of paying them consisted, as his youngest son Ramlochan Roy told the Collector of Burdwan, "in his obtaining a profit from a farm of a lac of rupees per annum which he holds of the Raja, and that the dependence of the whole family is on this farm."¹

All these anxieties and reverses of fortune were too much for a man of Ramkanta's age. He died in his house at Burdwan in Jaistha, 1210 (May-June 1803).² His son Ramlochan was probably there at the time and his grandson Gurudas Mookerji arrived there on the day following his death. But his wives most probably were not present there. Among his two other sons, Jagamohan Roy was in Midnapur jail and Rammohun was perhaps in Calcutta on his way back from Dacca-Jelalpur, which he must have left almost immediately after his resignation (14th May, 1803). That the latter was not present at Burdwan at his father's death-bed is established beyond doubt. In the special interrogatories prepared for Tarini Devi on behalf of Rammohun we find this question: "Where was Rammohun Roy, as you know, have heard, or do believe, at the time of the death of the said Ramkanta Roy?" As the same question is also asked with reference to Jagamohan Roy, it implies that both the sons were absent at the time of their father's death, and the priest of the family, Radhakristo Banerji Bhattacharya, when cross-interrogated on behalf of Rammohun, expressly deposed that "at the time of the death of Ramkanta Jagamohan was at Midnapore and Rammohun at some foreign place, the name of which he does not recollect."³

The death of Ramkanta was the occasion of a dispute in the family over the *sradh* ceremony, in which, to all appearance, Rammohun prominently figured. In the end, he performed a separate *sradh* at his own expense in Calcutta,⁴ while Ramlochan Roy performed the

¹ Letter, dated 30th March, 1803, from W. Parker, Actg. Collector of Burdwan, to the Actg. Collector of Midnapur.—*Board of Revenue Procdgs.*, 22nd April, 1803, No. 3.

² Rammohun's answer filed on 4th October, 1817.

³ Deposition of Radhakristo Banerji Bhattacharya.

⁴ Special Interrogatories prepared on behalf of Rammohun and intended for Tarini Devi, if produced.

sradh at Langulpara ¹ with the money which Tarini Devi had raised by pawning the jewels of her grandson, Gurudas Mukerji.² Jagamohan as the eldest son performed another *sradh* at Midnapur.³

At the time of his death Ramkanta possessed no personal property, and of real properties he had only the Burdwan house (worth about seven or eight thousand rupees) and that part of his ancestral *lakheraj* and *Brahmottar* property which he had reserved to himself by the deed of partition of 1796 and which consisted of "about 50 or 60 bighas of *Brahmottar* lands partly at Chandrakona, partly in the pargana of Jahanabad, partly at Bena, partly in Pargana Gwalla Bhoa and Bursoot and certain Ayma, or farms."⁴ The first of these, *i.e.*, the house, was taken possession of, in part settlement of his dues, by the Raja of Burdwan who also resumed the zamindari let in farm by him, while the other lands which were left by Ramkanta for the services of a certain idol which he had established, were applied for that purpose by his widow Tarini Devi. Three years after his death and after Jagamohan Roy had been released from the *dewani* jail it was discovered that Ramkanta had certain moneys owing to him and that he had left certain judgment decrees from the zila courts of Burdwan and Hooghly. Jagamohan formally applied for these sums as his father's heir, and in the absence of other claimants obtained them from the courts. Their amount, however, did not exceed three thousand rupees.⁵

While the death of Ramkanta and the continued imprisonment of Jagamohan left the family in great distress, Rammohun was leading a prosperous existence and, as he himself suggests, was "in rich and opulent circumstances." We find further evidence of this in the fact that in 1803 (1210 B.S.) he bought the *taluk* of Langulpara in Pargana Boyrah through his *naiib* Jagannath Majumdar, from Manikram Dutt and others.⁶

Soon after this Rammohun must have gone to Murshidabad, where his Arabic-Persian treatise on monotheism called "the *Tuhfat-ul-Muwahhiddin* or a Gift to Monotheists" was published. The date usually assigned to the *Tuhfat* is 1803 or 1804. This date seems to be correct, for both Andrew Ramsay and Thomas Woodforde were at Murshidabad in 1804 and it is likely that there, too, Rammohun was connected in some way with these two Civilians.

¹ Deposition of Radhakristo Banerji Bhattacharya.

² Special Interrogatories.

³ Deposition of Radhakristo Banerji Bhattacharya.

⁴ Deposition of Guruprasad Roy.

⁵ Deposition of Gurudas Mookerji.

⁶ Rammohun's Answer filed on 4th October, 1817.

The tradition is that Rammohun wrote the *Tuhfat* when he was only about sixteen years old, though he did not publish it for many years. This tradition is, however, absolutely untenable, because in the preface of the *Tuhfat* we find :

“ P.S. In order to avoid any future change in this book by copyists, I have had these few pages printed *just after composition*.”

This would place the composition of the *Tuhfat* some time not earlier than the advent of the 19th century, if not exactly in 1803-04. In any case the treatise was never *published* in its existing form till after Rammohun's travels in 1800-1801 to which the following passage in the Introduction to the *Tuhfat* obviously refers :

“ I travelled in the remotest parts of the world, in plains as well as in hilly lands.”

Rammohun concluded the *Tuhfat* with the following words :

“ I have left the details to another work of mine entitled *Manazirat-ul-Adiyan*,—Discussions on Various Religions.”

It would perhaps be going too far to infer from this statement that Rammohun had actually *published* the latter treatise, though he might have contemplated writing it, or had even composed it, either wholly or in part, at the time when he wrote the *Tuhfat*. It is significant that not a single copy of this treatise has yet been discovered by anybody. Secondly, when speaking of his early publications against idolatry Rammohun mentions only the *Tuhfat*, and not the *Manazirat*, as will be seen from the following passage in his *Appeal to the Christian Public*, a booklet published by him in 1820 under the pseudonym of “ A Friend to Truth ” :

Rammohun Roy...although he was born a Brahman, not only renounced idolatry at a very early period of his life, but published at that time a treatise in Arabic and Persian against that system; and no sooner acquired a tolerable knowledge of English, than he made his desertion of idol worship known to the Christian world by his English publication.

The New Information and the Current Traditions.

I have tried to set forth above those facts of Rammohun's early life which I think are proven, or, at any rate, reasonably free from all doubts. If these give nothing more than a bare, skeletal outline,

the fault lies as much perhaps with the sources as with me. It has not been my purpose here to describe the growth of Rammohun's ideas and personality. But even if that had been the case, I very much doubt whether in the existing state of our knowledge and short of a real windfall in the way of new material, a reconstruction of the actual workings of young Rammohun's mind could at all be attempted. One must, therefore, rest satisfied for the present with what is only the second best.

But that does not, to my mind, deprive the outline given above of its legitimate value. This framework will substantially stand, and it will be within the four corners of this framework that all new facts, whenever they come, will have to be fitted. As with the new knowledge, so with the old. All that we already know or have heard about Rammohun must be brought within the same framework. This process, as everybody familiar with the existing biographies of Rammohun will find, yields very interesting results. Among them, I shall describe only those which have struck me as far-reaching.

In the first place, the statements in the current biographies about Rammohun's early and wide travels within or outside India and about prolonged sojourns in centres of Islamic, Hindu or Buddhist learning are shown to be more or less open to question. The outline I have constructed hardly leaves any room for them during the period with which we are dealing. His biographers, for example, surmise that Rammohun stayed at Benares for ten years or more in order to study Sanskrit. When could he have undertaken these or other *prolonged* sojourns? Our documents prove that Rammohun was intermittently at Langulpara, Calcutta and places not far-off from 1791 to 1800. There is, of course, mention of an intended visit to Patna and Benares and other provinces remote from Calcutta in 1800. During these travels, he might have, as the tradition has it, perfected his knowledge of the Hindu or Islamic scriptures. But these stays, as we have seen, were not long, for we find Rammohun again in Calcutta in 1801, 1802 and 1803. The only hypothesis on which the story of Rammohun's long travels and theological education becomes tenable is that he began them at the age of six or seven and finished them by the time his father removed to Langulpara in 1791. And even that would not allow sufficient time for the stays in "Tibet" (for two or three years) and Patna (duration unknown) according to the current traditions.

Secondly, the new information settles once for all the vexed question of Rammohun's patrimony. A good deal of unnecessary

sympathy has been wasted on Rammohun on this score. Mr. Sandford Arnot, his friend and latterly his Secretary in England, writes : " Though the sacrifice of his patrimonial rights was tendered at the shrine of truth and conscience, it was not eventually exacted from him." ¹ All current biographies also repeat the story that Rammohun was deprived of, or did not come into, his share of the ancestral property on account of his religious beliefs. They also state that he was persecuted by his orthodox relatives and countrymen for the same reason. All these assertions derive strong support from the line of defence Rammohun himself took up in the Burdwan case. In this defence, among other things, he said :

.....so far from inheriting the property of his deceased father, [he] had during his lifetime separated from him and the rest of the family, in consequence of his altered habits of life and change of opinions, which did not permit their living together ; the plaintiff, therefore, on the plea of inheritance, could urge no claim against the defendant.....in case of a son separating himself from his father during his lifetime, and by his own exertion acquiring property unconnected with his father, and after his father's death inheriting no portion of his father's property, both the *shastur* laws and the established usage and custom of the country do not hold him amenable for his father's debts.²

These statements of Rammohun can only be accepted with a good deal of qualification. It is of course technically true that Rammohun did not *inherit* any part of his father's property, because when old Ramkanta died there was no property left for his sons to inherit. He died in extremely embarrassed circumstances, and whatever he left was taken, with one unimportant exception, by one of his creditors, the Raja of Burdwan, in part satisfaction of his dues. But taken in its broader sense, Rammohun's assertion is both incorrect and unfair to his father. As we have already seen, Rammohun did receive his share of the paternal property, and there was no discrimination against him on any ground whatever. He received this property from his father, enjoyed it all along, and was enjoying it when he made the assertion, though perhaps he had increased it considerably like the biblical servant with one talent. Similarly, we find no proof that Ramkanta Roy was alienated from his second son

¹ *Asiatic Journal*, 1833, Sep.-Dec., p. 197.

² For the full proceedings of this case the reader is referred to my article on " A Chapter in the Personal History of Raja Rammohun Roy " published in the *Calcutta Review* for August, 1931.

during his lifetime, though of course Rammohun did not help his father with money in his distress.

Last of all, these facts show Rammohun in a new light and, as I regard it, in a more correct perspective. All the existing biographies of Rammohun suffer from an excessive stress on the religious aspect of his career. They all assign a long and rigorous religious apprenticeship to him. The new information, however, proves beyond doubt that during these years Rammohun was also occupied with the management of his father's and his own estates, with lending money to European Civilians and holding jobs under the men so obliged by him, with acquiring properties and carrying through subtle *benami* transactions, with buying Company's Papers and dealing in them, in short with making money and doing everything that went to make a successful and influential man of the world of his age. These facts show Rammohun in another aspect of his life, which is not perhaps less important for a correct understanding of his personality. What Rammohun's biographers totally failed to perceive was that religion, or rather intellectual and dialectic pre-occupation with dogma, was only a part of Rammohun's being, and that he had other matters (including his own worldly advancement) no less near to his heart. This distortion of perspective, the new material before us helps to correct. To give only one example : We have seen that the death of Ramkanta Roy was the death of an ordinary man of the world, which perhaps was sustained by his son with the fortitude of a man of the world. But the pious friends of Rammohun could not let slip such an opening for edification without improving on the occasion. So we find William Adam writing :

R. Roy, in conversation, mentioned to me with much feeling that he had stood by the deathbed of his father, who with his expiring breath continued to invoke his God—Ram ! Ram ! with a strength of faith and a fervour of pious devotion which it was impossible not to respect although the son had then ceased to cherish any religious veneration for the family deity.

Unfortunately, Rammohun was not present at all by his father's death-bed.

THE RESERVE BANK OF INDIA BILL, 1933

By **BENOY KUMAR SARKAR**
Calcutta University

A Big and Privileged Commercial Bank

IN the Reserve Bank of India Bill there are certain features which are likely to be interesting to those of our countrymen who wish to see the progress of joint-stock banks "under Indian auspices." The Reserve Bank is essentially a commercial bank, and since it is a big institution and an institution enjoying certain privileges from the Government, the ordinary, *i.e.*, private commercial banks have reasons for anxiety in its presence. Even large-sized commercial banks are likely to be upset by the establishment of such a powerful concern. Now, Indian banks with solitary exceptions are as a rule medium-sized, nay, tiny or pigmy. As for the eight to nine hundred Loan Offices or "cottage banks," as I have called them so often,* there is every reason for their being nervous about their very existence as soon as the Big One makes its appearance in the market.

"Indian" Banks not likely to suffer

It is just from the standpoint of these fears and anxieties of private banks that we should call attention to the very nature and function of the Reserve Bank as proposed in the present Bill. As in other countries, in India also the Reserve Bank is to be saddled with a statute such as will prevent it automatically from injuring the interests of the private banks. Indian, nay, Bengali banking concerns, as banks, are not likely to suffer simply because of the establishment of the Reserve Bank. The safeguards that have been proposed are extensive and varied and will tend to offer the private concerns, even the Loan Offices of Bengal, opportunities for self-assertion in their own fields. It is to these measures of safety that as students of bank-technique and bank-capitalism our countrymen ought to devote a part of their attention.

* See "The Bank Capitalism of Young Bengal" in Sarkar: *Applied Economics*, Vol. I (1932).

Reserve Bank not to pay Interest

From the standpoint of private banks the most important clause in the Bill is certainly that which saves them from competition with this privileged institution. The safety of these banks,—large, medium and small, non-Indian as well as Indian,—is guaranteed by Art. 17, Section 1, which describes one of the different kinds of business which the Reserve Bank will be authorized to carry on. This has reference to what is called “passive banking,” as follows:—“the accepting of money on deposit without interest from and the collection of money for, the Secretary of State in Council, the Governor-General in Council, Local Governments, States in India, banks and any other person.”

The position is emphasized in Art. 19, Section 6, which, while enumerating the different kinds of business forbidden to the Reserve Bank, mentions categorically that it is not permitted to “allow interest on deposits or current account.”

On this point the Bill can cite a recent American precedent. The Federal Reserve Act of 1913 has been amended on a large scale by the Banking Act of June, 1933,* which provides, among other things, for the “safer and more effective use of the assets of banks,” and “prevents the undue diversion of funds into speculative operations.” Section 19 of the American Act under the present regulations has the following: “No member-bank shall directly or indirectly by any device whatsoever pay any interest on any deposit which is payable on demand.”

Naturally, the Reserve Bank is not likely to attract interest-seekers. The business world, therefore, is left wide enough for all the private banks, and they are thereby enabled to draw upon the resources of everybody who possesses something without fear of competition from this source.

Reserve Bank bound by One, Two or More Signatures

Another source of security for the private banks in regard to the question of competition with the Reserve Bank is furnished by Art. 17, Section 2. The purport of all these measures is to prevent the Bank from entering into those kinds of “active” business which are likely to be risky in any way. No bill of exchange or promissory note is to be purchased, sold or rediscounted by the Bank unless the

* For the Banking Act of 1933 see *Federal Reserve Bulletin* for June 1933.

documents bear the "signature of a scheduled bank" as in the case of business in Government securities [Clause (c)] or "two or more good signatures, one of which shall be that of a scheduled bank" as in the case of *bona fide* commercial transactions [Clause (a)] or of agricultural operations or marketing of crops [Clause (b)].

In all these instances the risks fall ultimately on those institutions which furnish the signature, and it is interesting to observe incidentally that in every instance the "scheduled bank" is either the only such institution or at any rate one of such institutions. Whatever is necessary to safeguard a Central Bank from the temptations of running headlong into business, which, although likely to be profitable is none the less attended with risk, nay, which is likely to be very profitable *because* it is attended with speculation and risk, has been attempted in this Article. The compulsion to consider certain kinds of business only when the guarantee has been furnished by one, two or more good signatures is the greatest brake upon the freedom of the Bank. It is necessarily therefore the most desirable in the interest of the private banks because the Bank's competition is thereby reduced to a minimum. The entire world of speculative, risky and therefore profitable business is left free and unobstructed for them, and they are at liberty to ransack this world, each according to its risk-bearing capacity.

Reserve Bank not to make Unsecured Loans and Advances

In regard to other kinds of "active" business also the interests of private banks are safeguarded by Section 4 of Art. 17, which describes the conditions under which the Bank is authorized to make loans and advances. It is provided that the loans and advances must be either repayable on demand or during the period of not more than ninety days. And in no instance are the loans and advances to be made without security. The kinds of security are enumerated in clauses (a) to (e), which, however, need not be discussed here. These limitations upon the freedom or discretion of the Bank are further emphasized in Art. 19, Sections 4 and 5, where it is forbidden to make unsecured loans or advances and draw or accept bills payable otherwise than on demand.

It is to be understood that private bankers are subject to no such limitations. They can use their discretion in regard to every proposition that comes, and it is at their free will that they can decide as to whether a client deserves an unsecured accommodation or a credit

for longer than ninety days. Indeed, it is just in this power of exercising discretion that the *forte* of banking consists.

The Claims of "Indian" Banks

As regards the status and number of "scheduled banks," the Bill of 1933 is superior not only to that of 1927 but also to that of 1928, because the number of scheduled banks which rose from 26 to 62 in 1928 has risen to 69 in the present instance. In other words, the privilege of "signature," on the strength of which the Bank is to purchase, sell or rediscount bills of exchange, etc., has been extended to a large number of Indian, including some Bengali, concerns.

The following Bengali banks have been accorded a place in the list of scheduled banks :

1. Bhowanipur Banking Corporation, Calcutta.
2. Jalpaiguri Banking and Trading Corporation, Jalpaiguri.
3. Raikut Industrial Bank, Jalpaiguri.

The list is not imposing. But one will have to observe that in 1927 not one was mentioned and in 1928 the third in the list of 1933 did not obtain the privilege. But still at the present moment we must not refrain from exploring the possibility of pushing the claims of some more of our "cottage banks" to legislative recognition.

More Bengali Banks deserve Recognition

It is surprising, indeed, that only three should have been singled out in the Bill. So far as capital-power is concerned, the following institutions belong more or less to the same group as these three :—

1. Jagadamba Loan Co., Birbhum.
2. Indian Industrial Bank, Calcutta.
3. Mahaluxmi Bank, Chittagong.
4. Bengal Central Bank, Calcutta.
5. Luxmi Industrial Bank, Calcutta.
6. Naogaon Atrai Bank, Rajshahi.
7. Chittagong Bank, Chittagong.
8. Jessore Loan Co., Jessore.
9. Tipperah Loan Office, Tipperah.

The capital of these institutions ranges between Rs. 100,000 and Rs. 500,000.

And if the criterion is to be furnished by the command over deposits, the claims of the following might well be considered along with those of the three in the Schedule :—

1. Jessore Loan Co., Jessore.
2. Faridpur Loan Office, Faridpur.
3. Rangpur Loan Office, Rangpur.
4. Bogra Loan Office, Bogra.
5. Bengal Central Bank, Calcutta.
6. Khulna Loan Company, Khulna.
7. Comilla Union Bank, Tipperah.
8. North Bengal Bank, Rangpur.
9. Faridpur Bank, Faridpur.

The deposits in these institutions range between Rs. 1,000,000 and Rs. 5,500,000.

The institutions common to the above two counts are only two in number. Excluding the double entries, there are at least sixteen Banks or Loan Offices in Bengal the claims of which ought to be seriously discussed while preparing the final Schedule for the time being.

The Problem before Bengali Bankers

It is important to signalize the fact that the present Bill does not, like the one of 1927, make the list statutory and fixed. According to Art. 42, Section 7, the door is open to the Loan Offices of Bengal and the *Nidhis* of Madras as well as other Indian banking institutions to enter the list. The possibility of raising the status of the smaller banks is not to be ignored or minimized.

Bengali economic statesmen should know how to manage their banking affairs in such a way as to command important position in the atmosphere of the Reserve Bank along with the representatives of other regions in India. Once more let me repeat my suggestion of long standing to the effect that the time has come for amalgamation and consolidation in Bengali banking enterprise. The opportunities to be rendered available by the establishment of the Reserve Bank should be utilized by Bengali bankers in right earnest in order to strengthen their position in Bengal as well as in All-India.

Two Bengali Interests need Special Directors

The two fundamental interests of the Bengali people in the domain of Indian finance are (1) those of the agriculturists and (2) those of the small-sized banks and loan offices. For some long time

to come we Bengalis are bound to remain a nation of virtual peasant-proprietors, petty capitalists, small concerns, and cottage or medium industries. Our approach to the Reserve Bank must therefore be oriented to these inevitable considerations. From this standpoint we have to see to it that at least two of the eight Directors (in case they are to be eight only) of the Central Board representing the shareholders are persons such as possess special interest in agriculture and small banks. The problem of the directorate, central as well as local, will have to be re-examined from the view-point of these basic exigencies in the national economy of Bengal.

Bengali Cultivators and the Reserve Bank

In Bengal we ought to take interest in the manner in which French co-operative societies are enabled to finance the cultivators on account of the advances from the *Banque de France*, a topic to which I have been inviting the attention of our countrymen for some years. The Reserve Bank should be prevailed upon to cultivate the same relations with our co-operatives and cultivators as the French Central Bank does for those of France.*

Substantial Share-capital from Bengali Loan Offices

It is time for the directors, managers and others associated with the world of Loan Offices in Bengal to organize measures with a view to secure a substantial portion of Rs. 16,500,000 which is allocated as share-capital for Bengal. Not less than Rs. 5,000,000 should be collectively subscribed by the combined Bengali banks. Here is a chance for the Bengali people to enter "high finance" at the thin end of the wedge, and commence the A, B, C of functioning on "Indian" economic platforms. There is no more secure method of safe-guarding "Bengali interests" in Indian commerce and capitalism than by taking advantage of the provisions offered by the Bill. It is to be trusted that Bengali businessmen will not fail to improve the capital power and financial position of their banks by fresh acquisitions as well as concentrations.

Imperial Bank vis à vis Reserve Bank

It is curious that the Imperial Bank is to be the only one of the scheduled banks that will enjoy a certain number of gifts from the

* See "The French System of Agricultural Credit" in Sarkar: *Economic Development* (Madras 1926) and his *Law and the Cultivator: The Example of France* in the Journal of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, December, 1926.

Reserve Bank. The gifts are the following deposits (Third Schedule, Art. 3)—

1. Rs. 30,000,000 without interest during first five years,
2. Rs. 20,000,000 without interest during the next five years,

and so on up to the twenty-fifth year.

Under the system recommended the Imperial Bank is likely to become a rival of the Reserve Bank to a certain extent, at any rate, so far as its command over the financial resources is concerned. The proposal that the Imperial Bank should obtain from the Reserve Bank very large amounts as interest-free balances, is just calculated almost to introduce a "dyarchy" in Central Banking and ought to be treated as a reactionary and irrational measure. To establish a Reserve Bank and at the same time to continue to bestow certain Central Bank privileges on a private Bank constitute a bankocratic confusion of the worst type,—even although it be for a transitional period. Neither would the Reichsbank entertain such a proposition in favour of the Deutsche Bank und Disconto-Gesellschaft nor the Banque de France for the Credit Lyonnais, nor the Bank of England for the Midland.

Imperial Bank vis à vis other Scheduled Banks

In case the Bill in its present form becomes law, the anomalous position of the Imperial Bank in the banking system of India for twenty-five years after the establishment of the Reserve Bank can escape nobody's notice. If it is to be a "scheduled bank," i.e., one of the 69 private banks endowed with the privilege of "signature," on the strength of which the Reserve Bank is authorized to deal in bills of exchange, the Imperial Bank, like all the others, ought to maintain a balance with the Reserve Bank to the extent of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the daily average of its demand liabilities plus $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the daily average of its time liabilities [Art. 42, Section 1]. As a scheduled Bank, the Imperial Bank should not possess any privileges such as are denied to the others.

Any preferential treatment of the Imperial Bank is unfair to the other scheduled banks. From their standpoint the proposition is entirely objectionable. The concessions to be enjoyed by the Imperial Bank would spell danger to their normal functioning. As has been

pointed out above, they have been relieved of the fear of competition with the Reserve Bank because of statutory safeguards such as serve to curb it of its freedom in functions and delimit the range of its transactions. But out of the frying pan they would be thrown into the fire in so far as they will have to encounter rivalry with the pampered mammoth in the shape of the Imperial Bank, which will be as free as themselves to enter every market.

The Proper Conditions of Agency for the Reserve Bank

The trouble has arisen from the solicitude to entrust the Imperial Bank with the "sole agency" of the Reserve Bank (Third Schedule, Art. 1). The patronage in the form of agencies ought rather to be fairly distributed among a large number of scheduled banks and should not be a monopoly to be enjoyed by just one institution.

Besides, the period of twenty-five years during which the Imperial Bank is to enjoy the monopoly (Art. 43), should appear to be too long. Businessmen ought to try to have it brought down to not more than seven years.

There is no reason why the Reserve Bank should fail to develop a large number of branches of its own during the next five or seven years and be as far as possible independent of the Imperial Bank and other scheduled banks in regard to the business that is generally entrusted to agents in the absence of one's own branches.

CONTEMPORARY POETRY

By PROF. AMARANATHA JHA, M.A.

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Any one familiar with the well-known instances in literary history of ill-balanced and unsatisfactory criticisms of the works of contemporary poets will think many times before venturing to attempt an estimate either of the main tendencies of the poetry of to-day, or of the works of the leading modern poets. He should at all events be conscious that his estimate must inevitably be incomplete, tentative, and premature. What he says to-day he may himself feel called upon to modify to-morrow and he may be certain that the coming generations will have something very different to say. Time and space have their own inscrutable and inexorable standards. Each day discovers a new prophet, but the generations and the centuries are just.

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Victorian poetry, like the rest of Victorian literature, had been marked by what its arch-priest called 'high seriousness.' The Victorians took themselves seriously: they revered their Art. They were intellectual, highly moral, and severely practical. The controversies of Religion and Science, High and Low Church, Catholic Emancipation, Positivism, Free Trade, left them no heart for frivolity or light-heartedness. The solid virtues were praised: self-help, reliance, thrift. Poetry, too, was always distinguished, rarely trivial. The language employed by the poets was becoming once more dignified, pure, and impressive. As Flecker rightly remarked in his essay on John Davidson, "The royal harmonies of 'Hyperion,' the falling cadences of Rossetti, the clear rustle of Tennyson's measure, the impetuosity of Swinburne—spring from a nearly identical convention, rich and infinitely variable, which nevertheless yearly became more distant from the general language of mankind." Exceptions there had been, it is true, Thackeray and Patmore, for instance. But in the main, the typical Victorian expressed beautifully a comfortable philosophy of life. He had in his early years known mental distress, doubt, uncertainty, 'strife-divine.' The effort to

get over it and to effect a ' compromise ' ended in a belief in Progress, in Liberalism that looked forward with confidence to the Federation of the World. God was in His heaven, and all was right with the world. William Morris spoke

Of the wonderful days a-coming,
When all shall be better than well.

Lord Morley, one of the most persuasive apologists of the Victorians, says: " The outcast and the poor are better tended. The prisoner knows more of mercy, and has better chances of a new start. Duelling has been transformed from folly to crime. The end of the greatest of civil wars—always the bitterest of wars—was followed by the widest of amnesties. Slavery has gone, or is going. The creatures below man may have souls or not—a question that brings us into dangerous dispute with churches and philosophies—either way, the spirit of compassion, justice, understanding, is more steadily extending to those dumb friends and oppressed servitors of ours who have such strange resemblances to us in form, faculty and feeling." If the philosophical Radical be suspected of being too partial, here is the equally enthusiastic testimony of a pessimist like George Gissing: " Often have the English people been at loggerheads among themselves, but they have never flown at each other's throats, and from every grave dispute has resulted some substantial gain. They are a cleaner people, and more sober ; in every class there is a diminution of brutality ; education has notably extended ; certain forms of tyranny have been abolished ; certain forms of suffering, due to heedlessness or ignorance, have been abated." They forgot or did not choose to remember that, in 1880, Henry George had written in the Preface to his *Progress and Poetry*: " So long as all the increased wealth which modern progress brings goes but to build up great fortunes, to increase luxury, and make sharper the contrast between the House of Have and the House of Want, progress is not real and cannot be permanent. The reaction must come. The tower leans from its foundation, and every new storey but hastens the final catastrophe. To educate men who must be condemned to poverty is but to make them restive ; to base on a state of most glaring social inequality political institutions under which men are theoretically equal, is to stand a pyramid on its apex."

But during the reign of Victoria, optimism, belief in progress, complacency continued, and it was not until after the first decade of the present century that the rumble of discontent began to be heard. The

mood of midsummer ecstasy had been worked to the dregs. Reaction inevitably set in.

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Before 1914 is reached, however, we have to take note of the intervening period, and especially of the eighteen-nineties,—usually condemned as decadent, but in truth yielding an amazingly rich crop of poetry. It witnessed an æsthetic movement with which are associated the names of Lord Alfred Douglas, Ernest Dowson, Lawrence Housman, Lionel Johnson, J. A. Symonds, Arthur Symonds, Francis Thompson, W. B. Yeats, Aubrey Beardsley, Max Beerbohm. George Moore—an impressive list of artists, who, whatever their other qualities, were genuinely, and passionately, devoted to their art. That several of them were unfortunate and died prematurely, that a few of them were drunkards or opium addicts, that at least one of them committed suicide—is irrelevant. Flaubert and Baudelaire had taught in France the glorification of Art as art, irrespective of ethics; in the nineties the English writers spent all their energy and all their intellectual resources on formal perfection, on technical finesse, on widening the range of literature by bringing in unsavoury subjects, dirty details, the seamy side of life. Mr. Middleton Murray wonders if it was not a misfortune that the word ‘art’ ever came to be mixed up with literature. At any rate, while in its content poetry was brought nearer to the homes and hearts of the masses, in form it was more exquisite, more ‘precious’ than ever before. From this semi-artificial mode of expression a reaction was inevitable. The exotic hot-house air of Lord Alfred Douglas’

“Steal from the meadows, rob the tall green hills,
Ravish my orchard’s blossoms, let me bind
A crown of orchard flowers and daffodils,
Because my love is fair and white and kind.

To-day the thrush has trilled her daintiest phrases
Flowers with their incense have made drunk the air,
God has bent down to gild the heart of daisies,
Because my love is kind and white and fair.

To-day the sun has kissed the rose-tree’s daughter
And sad Narcissus, spring’s pale acolyte,
Hangs down his head and smiles into the water,
Because my love is kind and fair and white.”

or of J. A. Symonds'

" Fear not to tread; it is not much
To bless the meadow with your touch
Nay, walk unshod; for, as you pass,
The dust will take your feet like garss.
O dearest melodies, O beat
Of musically moving feet! "

was bound to be rudely disturbed. And even during the nineties the first notes of rebellion were heard—silently at first, faint and unheeded, but calm, and apparently without any feeling. Combining faultless expression with deep discontent, Mr. A. E. Housman's work created little or no impression when *A Shropshire Lad* appeared in 1896. And yet it was a portent. Gone was the smug self-satisfaction of the Victorians, the enthusiasm and ardour, the pride and sense of glory. Instead, discontent reigned—not at anything ephemeral, temporary, or accidental, but at the sorry scheme of things entire, at the very texture of the world. The peace and the absence of violent expression made the discontent grimmer, more poignant and terrible. There was no way of escape; the shades of the prison-house were bound to lengthen. Death alone could perhaps open a way out.

" Now hollow fires burn out to black,
And lights are guttering low;
Square your shoulders, lift your pack,
And leave your friends and go.

Oh never fear, man, nought's to dread,
Look not left nor right:
In all the endless road you tread
There's nothing but the night."

" Shot? so quick, so clean an ending?
Oh that was right, lad, that was brave,
Yours was not an ill for mending,
'Twas best to take it to the grave.

Oh, you had forethought, you could reason,
And saw your road and where it led,
And early wise and brave in season
Put the pistol to your head.

Oh soon, and better so than later
After long disgrace and scorn,

You shot dead the household traitor,
The soul that should not have been born.

Right you guessed the rising morrow
And scorned to tread the mire you must :
Dust's your wages, son of sorrow
But men may come to worse than dust.

Souls undone, undoing others,
Long time since the tale began.
You would not live to wrong your brothers :
Oh lad, you died as fits a man.

Now to your grave shall friend and stranger
With ruth and some with envy come :
Undishonoured, clear of danger,
Clean of guilt, pass hence and home.

Turn safe to rest, no dreams, no walking;
And here, man, here's the wreath I've made;
'Tis not a gift that's worth the taking,
But wear it and it will not fade."

Rudyard Kipling's career began while Tennyson's mellifluous voice was still heard, and Browning's verse was beginning to be understood. Fitzgerald's spell was spreading, the half-sceptical melancholy; the vague longing for the pleasures of the flesh mixed up with a stoic philosophy, made the Persian Omar an English classic. Coming close after were the striking figures of Morris, Swinburne and Meredith. Mediaeval romance, 'Chaos illumined by lightning,' enchanted scenes, blend of psychology and fancy—these held public attention for a few years. Kipling followed these giants and had to bear the brunt of the attack on the moderns. His poems were matter-of-fact, practical, business-like, they did not imagine so much as observe. There was room for humour, for pathos, for tears, they were a leaf out of the book of life. They were not tinted with rainbow hues nor did they echo the roar of the thunder. They described earthly life, with all its many aches and ecstasies. If he sees romance in the street and beauty in the barracks, he is a genuine poet. For the true seer beauty and loveliness never pass away, the squalor and the smoke conceal the mystic wonder which he both discovers and interprets. Kipling's manner of writing seemed jarring, harsh and crude. He employed many cockney expressions, many phrases known to the Tommy alone, many words which Anglo-Indians alone could understand,

he took great liberties with spelling, he manipulated pronunciations, he used many abbreviations. All this was new, and Kipling suffered grievously for his innovations.

Then Thomas Hardy came out with his poetical works—employing the dramatic lyric much more successfully than even Browning, singing of God's helplessness and man's insignificance. He used too many words which are local colloquialisms. He introduced into poetry the art of the reporter, merely reproducing a conversation without any explicit comment. This was followed up by Mr. Wilfred Gibson, whose first volume of poems appeared in 1900. He began in the approved Victorian style of pseudo-romanticism ; but by the year 1905 he had cast off this superficial veneer and asserted his own personality ; and since the publication of *The Web of Life* in 1908 he has gone on singing of the dull, drab and dreary life of the workmen, the shop-keepers, the workless. Their little dreams, their humble aspirations: the fight for their daily bread; the courage and the manliness, their generous impulses and their loving kindness ; these became soon his chosen themes. Nor has he shaken off their charm yet. He is the Poet of his own poem :

“ His was no easy eloquence—
Not his the volubility
Of volatile vacuity :
So much he had to say.
Such crowded news he gathered by the way,
That his tongue stammered, struggling with a sense
Of the unutterable opulence
And unimaginable magnificence
Of every day.”

It is this “ unimaginable magnificence of every day ” which struck the poets who were before long to declare themselves realists with a vengeance. How can this be reconciled ? What have magnificence and offensiveness in common ? It is the supreme achievement of the modern poet that underneath the superincumbent weight of dull thick ugliness he hears the heart of the beautiful palpitating in harmony with all that is good and lovely.

In 1911 appeared *The Everlasting Mercy* by the present Poet Laureate. It immediately created a sensation. His latest biographer, Mr. Gilbert Thomas, says, “ It disturbed both the surface and the hidden depths. It carried Mr. Kipling's literary method further than its originator himself had done. But it not only

wrinkled the smooth bosom of the lake ; it probed to the mud of conventional and stagnant morality beneath." Some described it as a work of genius, others as a blatant piece of vulgarity. The significant fact is that it dwelt upon ugliness if not with satisfaction, certainly with no disgust; that it mingled beauty with dirt and loveliness with scum; that blackguardism and godliness are both found in the same individual; that swear-words and 'bad' words and tabooed words are freely used. The passages that were found revolting then and are not very pleasant even now were like the following :

" The room was full of men and stink
Of bad cigars and heavy drink.
Riley was nodding to the floor
And gurgling as he wanted more.
His mouth was wide, his face was pale,
His swollen face was sweating ale;
And one of those assembled Greeks
Had corked black crosses on his cheeks...
A dozen more were in their glories
With laughs and smokes and smutty stories;
And Jimmy joked and took his sup
And sang his song of ' Up, come up '
Jane brought the bowl of stewing gin
And poured the egg and lemon in,
And whisked it up and served it out
While bawdy questions went about,
Jack chucked her chin, and Jim accost her
With bits out of the ' Maid of Gloyster.'
And fifteen arms went round her waist.
(And then men ask, Are Barmaids chaste?)."

Kipling, A. E. Housman, Thomas Hardy, Wilfrid Gibson, and Masfield anticipated and determined the main tendencies of what has been designated the Georgian School of Poetry.

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With a wonderful sensitiveness to popular feelings, never more striking than during the years immediately preceding the War, Mr. Lloyd George said once in course of a speech : " You have hundreds of thousands of men working unceasingly for wages that barely bring them enough bread to keep themselves and their families above privation. Generation after generation they see their children

wither before their eyes for lack of air, light, and space, which is denied them by men who have square miles for their own use. Take our cities, of a great empire. Right in the heart of them everywhere you have ugly quagmires of human misery, seething, rotting, at last fermenting. We pass them by every day on our way to our comfortable homes....You can hear, carried by the breezes from the North, the South, the East and the West, ominous rumbling." This was before the War, and Georgian Poetry came into prominence two years before that world-conflagration and was indeed independent of it. The War opened men's eyes. They saw their comfortable fictions fail. Disillusionment came. And a nervous, fearful people realised that the music-makers had indeed a truer vision, and they had read the riddle aright. Recognition and popularity the Georgian poets now received in abundant measure. Indeed, appreciation became unreflecting, and praise was transferred into adoration. The wheel had come full circle.

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A well-informed critic divides the moderns into seven groups—the Philosophers, consisting of Lascelles Abercrombie, Rupert Brooke, John Drinkwater, Harold Monro, John Masefield; the Realists, comprising Wilfrid Gibson, Siegfried Sassoon, W. H. Davies; the Fantastics, including Walter de la Mare, Ralph Hodgson, Robert Graves, James Stephens; the Exotics, consisting of Gordon Bottomley, Flecker, and D. H. Lawrence; the Critic Poets, such as J. G. Squire, John Freeman, Edmund Blunden; the Imagists including Ezra Pound, Richard Aldington, and F. S. Flint; and finally, the Wheels group, consisting of Edith Sitwell and her brothers Osbert and Sacheverell and Aldous Huxley. This division is not altogether satisfactory; but it helps to focus attention on the wonderful diversity of modern poetry, its varied aims and ideals and its main characteristics. To the question whether the moderns can rightly be said to form a school, two answers have been given, each by an eminent scholar. Sir Edmund Gosse says: "The poets who have become prominent in the present century are remarkable for their general identity. They form a school in a degree which has rarely been seen in this country." On the other hand, Professor Gilbert Murray insists that "each writer has his own special quality and character, and hardly any two of them are much alike. There is no remotest sign of a school, a clique, or a coterie. These writers are not Futurists, nor Unanimists nor Paroxysts, nor Asphyxiasts, nor

members of any other rising doctrinal body. They have written as suiting them best, and their work has been judged for its poetry, not for its tendency." To the extent that each poet has his own individuality, we may object to the use of the terms 'school' and 'group.' But in point of time, if nothing else, they must all be considered together. What can be more dissimilar than the torrent and storm in Marlowe and the serenity and sweetness of Spenser; the artistic lawlessness of Shakespeare and the dull classicalism of Jonson; the grace and studied elegance of Lyly and the sententious brevity of Bacon? And yet are they not Elizabethans? Wordsworth, Coleridge, Scott, Shelley, Southey, Keats, Byron—how diverse, how rich, and how abundant are their gifts, yet they all belong to the romantic school. There is nothing to be frightened of in a label. The characteristic features of the work of Masfield are different from those of W. H. Davies. No poets can be more dissimilar than Yeats and Ezra Pound. But none the less they are Georgians and there is something in the work of each of them that brands them so. One does not think naturally of poets who adhere to the classical tradition—poets like Maurice Baring, William Watson, and Lascelles Abercrombie; these seem uninfluenced by the spirit of the age. But for the rest the years 1910-30 are writ large on their work.

The origin of the name 'Georgian' is to be traced to the year 1912 when a volume of less than two hundred pages was published in the month of December. It was entitled *Georgian Poetry*, and had poems among others by Rupert Brooke, Abercrombie, Robert Graves, and Masfield. The editor, E. M., said he believed "English poetry is now once again putting on a new strength and beauty." Whether in quality the new poets were to achieve much was yet to be proved. But in quantity they amply demonstrated that poetry was very much alive. During the eight years 1912-1920, no fewer than a thousand poets published volumes of their work. There was no doubt that poetry had once more gained popular favour. Helicon was flooded.

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There can be little question that the moderns are, despite all their apparent carelessness, skilled artificers of verse. So far as technique is concerned they are almost as meticulous as the most conscious artist of the 'nineties.' Robert Graves classes them into three groups, and distinguishes their verse thus: "With the Conservative the prosody is always that of the five iambic feet and the cæsure

that can have only three legitimate places. Variations are permitted only in the case of awkwardly scanning proper names, or occasional moments of passion or dramatic pause, or heavy humour. The extra syllable at the end is regarded as a decadence. The Liberal seldom uses blank verse, but when he does, justifies his greater variation, occasional trochees, dactyles or anapests instead of iambs, and frequent feminine endings, by Shakespeare's later tragedies. The Left Wing may do almost anything to blank verse, and does. The way to do it is to do it." This is a useful division, though it refers almost exclusively to the use of blank verse. There are many verse experimentors not all of them equally successful. Several old metres are revived. The octosyllable couplet, for instance, is used with remarkable skill by some. Here are some lines by Gerald Cumberland :

" For me life has no joys but these :
 To search for new discoveries,
 To burn my flesh at life's great fire,
 To quench my soul of its desire,
 To rise upon ambition's wings,
 To risk my life for gorgeous things;
 But new discoveries soon blend
 With stale regret, and then they end."

Or the following by W. H. Davies :

" A poor life this, if full of care,
 We have no time to stand and stare."

Some other metrical forms are used with varying degrees of skill and new forms are attempted.

Then they sometimes startle readers used to the majestic diction of English verse, even to the homely language of Wordsworth's baldest pieces, by words of questionable taste, uncommon and obscure words, and words that hurt and wound. This is a definitely Georgian tendency, observable alike in prose and verse. James Joyce and D. H. Lawrence have done much to mitigate the rudeness of the shock caused by the style of Nasfield and others. Naked descriptions of the sex act are now acclaimed as touching the high water-mark of artistic excellence. One need not be a puritan to condemn the prurience that leads to such writing and the blind partisanship that praises it. But the great urge of the present day is to rend all veils. The earlier generations had mismanaged affairs so that their humanitarianism had led to a holocaust. Their civilization had collapsed. Religion and

Church had encouraged destruction. Social greetings and forms were camouflaged jealousies and hates. The generation that had been born to this heritage of woe was determined to destroy the entire fabric that had proved not only its worthlessness but its danger. Down with the aged ! Down with the past ! And specially down with all reticences ! No testimony could be trusted. Men must experience for themselves. The laxity that we observe in literature today is the manifestation of this widespread discontent. Compared to what readers get in some novels, Georgian poetry provides stuff that is weak as water. Yet when it first appeared, there was much comment and many shakings of the head. When *The Everlasting Mercy* appeared in Austin Harrison's *English Review* no swear-words were printed; spaces were left blank. In Masfield's *Collected Poems*, this great poem includes words like 'whored' (twice); 'closy put'; 'bloody' (about 10 times); 'damn' (several times); 'swine'; 'smutty'; 'bawdy'; 'pipped'; 'whores and sots'; 'lice'; 'offspring of the hen and ass'; 'dirty-whores';—words strong enough in all conscience, and used, one may be sure, of set purpose. The story is one of sin in all its phases and of redemption. There is appropriateness perhaps in the words quoted above appearing in passages that speak of Saul Kane's transgressions, even as there is appropriateness in the exquisite lines with which the tale of eternal mercy ends:

" O lovely lily clean,
O lily springing green,
O lily bursting white,
Dear lily of delight,
Spring in my heart agen
That I may flower to men."

One may observe next the fondness for irregular patterns and sentences left incomplete; for pictorial representation, thereby approximating to the cinematograph, for concrete objects rather than abstract ideas. Mr. Herbert Read remarks: "The modern poet does not deny the right of regular verse to exist, or to be poetic. He merely affirms that poetry is sincerity, and has no essential alliance with regular schemes of any sort. He reserves the right to adapt his rhythm to his mood, to modulate his metre as he progresses." This freedom to regulate his verse so as to suit the sense and the temper is illustrated in the following specimens:

" Himself
And the element,

Food, of course!
 Water-eager eyes,
 Mouth-gate open
 And strong spine urging, driving;
 And desirous belly gulping." (D. H. Lawrence's *Fish*.)

"He'd even have his joke
 While we were sitting tight,
 And so he needs must poke
 His silly head in sight
 To whisper some new jest,
 Chortling, but as he spoke
 A rifle cracked...
 And now God knows whe I shall hear the rest." (Wilfrid
 Gibson's *The Joke*.)

"A wail.
 Lights. Blurr.
 Gone.
 On, on, Lead, Lead, Hail.
 Spatter. Whirr ; Whirr ;
 Toward that patch of brown;
 Direction left." (Robert Nichols' *The Assault*.)

"The things of today and yesterday
 That have lived but a short time with her
 Are gone,
 And only the old things remain." (May Sinclair's *The Grandmother*)

When one seeks to recapture one's impression of the unity of thought in modern poetry, one is bewildered by apparent inconsistencies and contradictions. Even a single poet is not always consistent: how much less a whole generation of poets. But the observation may be hazarded that disillusionment is the predominant note in modern poetry. A glory and a loveliness have faded from life and men. The poet is depressed that there should be so much ugliness and misery. He realises the contrast between what is and what might be. The tyranny of the mere thing has gripped him, and he groans under it. Machine, man-made machine, crushes life out of man and all beauty is smothered. Man and woman and child are all alike becoming slaves to the god named Machine. Deliberately man plots his spiritual ruin. "These be thy gods, O Israel?" Little wonder that seeing thus

beneath the surface of things, the poets mourn and lament and cry Melancholy their songs are in consequence, and wistful; but no melancholy in the manner of Keats and Shelley, not dejected as Coleridge was dejected, nor depressed as Byron fancied himself to be. It is a far cry from

" The nightingale's complaint
It dies upon her heart,
As I must die on thine,
O beloved as thou art! " (Shelley)

" But she is in her grave, and oh,
The difference to me! " (Wordsworth)

" If I should meet thee
After long years,
How should I greet thee ?—
With silence and tears." (Byron)

" Still, still to hear her tender-taken breath,
And so live ever,—or else swoon to death." (Keats)

to Wilfrid Gibson's "*Geraniums*"—

" Stuck in a bottle on the window-sill,
In the cold gas-light burning gaily red
Against the luminous blue of London night,
These flowers are mine; while somewhere out of sight
In some black-throated alley's stench and heat,
Oblivious of the racket of the street,
A poor old weary woman lies in bed.

Broken with lust and drink, blear-eyed and ill,
Her Battered Bennet nodding on her head,
From a dark arch she clutched my sleeve and said:
" I've sold no bunch today, nor touched a bite...
Son, buy six-pennorth; and 'twill mean a bed."

So blazing gaily red
Against the luminous deeps
Of starless London night,
They burn for my delight:
While somewhere, snug in bed,
A worn old woman sleeps:

And yet tomorrow will these blooms be dead
With all their lively beauty; and tomorrow

May end the light lusts and the heavy sorrow
 Of that old body with the nodding head.
 The last oath muttered, the last pint drained deep,
 She'll sink, as Cleopatra sank, to sleep;
 Nor need to barter blossoms for a bed."

This is melancholy that borders on tragedy, stark and grim and real. There may be some exaggeration or mistake in taking such a serious view of life. But none can deny to the poet honesty and sincerity. If in the attempt to be true to experience he appears to be offensively fond of ugliness, his explanation is, in Rupert Brooke's words: "There are common things,—situations or details—that may suddenly bring all tragedy, or at least the brutality of actual emotions, to you I rather grasp relievedly at them, after I have beaten vain hands in the rosy mists of poets' experiences."

Connected with this feature and indeed part of it, is the poets' sense of the irony of life, and the curious mingling of light-hearted frivolity and deep feeling. The burthen of their songs is that 'the world's more full of weeping than you can understand.' Thomas Hardy is so persistently struck by the horror of the passage of time, by the miseries and griefs and losses which are mankind's inheritance, by the inevitableness of tragedy—that he is, despite his vehement protests, one of the major poets of pessimism in English. Not Clough, nor James Thomson, is more uniformly sad and depressing.

" Whence comes solace ? Not from seeing
 What is doing, suffering, being;
 Not from noting Life's conditions,
 Not from heeding Time's monitions;
 But in cleaving to the Dream,
 And in gazing on the gleam
 Whereby grey things golden seem."

Or again in the poem entitled, *To Life*:

" O Life, with the sad scared face,
 I weary of seeing of thee,
 And thy droggled cloak and thy hobbling pace.
 And thy too-forced pleasantry!
 I know what thou wouldst tell,
 Of Death, Time, Destiny—
 I have known it long, and know, too well,
 What it all means for me.

But canst thou not array
 Thyself in rare disguise,
 And feign like truth, for one mad day,
 That Earth is Paradise ?

I'll tune me to the mood,
 And mummm with thee till eve,
 And may be, what as interlude
 I feign, I shall believe! "

The note of frivolity appears in such poems as Belloe's *Dives* Hardy's *Ah, are you digging ?*, which are at the same time full of a serious import.

Among other characteristics may be mentioned the return to nature, the habit of sharp contrast and anti-climax, and fondness for the distant and the romantic. One may quote such pieces as Ralph Hodgson's *The Gipsy Girl*:

" She fawned and whirled ' Sweet gentlemen,
 A penny for three tries ! '
 —But oh, the den of wild things in
 The darkness of her eyes! "

or from W. H. Davies' *The Likeness*:

" That flock of sheep, on the green grass,
 Well might it lie so still and proud
 Its likeness had been drawn in heaven,
 On a blue sky, in silvery cloud "—

to illustrate the pictorial quality of some modern poetry. Or the sense of contrast by means of passages like

" Why do you lie with your legs ungainly huddled,
 And one arm bent across your sullen cold
 Exhausted face? It hurts my heart to watch you,
 Deep-shadowed from the candle's guttering gold:
 And you wander why I shake you by the shoulder;
 Drowsy, you mumble and sigh and shift your head...
 You are too young to fall asleep for ever;
 And when you sleep you remind me of the dead."

(S. Sassoon's *The Dug-Out*.)

or Wilfrid Gibson's *Snug in my Easy Chair*, or Masfield's *Cargoes*.

Very great departure in technique, and considerable change in theme and outlook—these mark out modern poetry. In so far as the language tends to approximate more closely to the language of everyday life it is an advance in the right direction and makes poetry more valuable for the masses and not merely for the cultured few. But when the theme is elevated and the poet does not deal with commonplace and vulgar subjects, the language is exalted, suggestive and rich in those qualities that mark the genuine song. Even a modern is capable of such exquisite lines as :

“ Poplars and fountains and you cypress spires
 Springing in dark and rusty flame,
 Seek you aught that hath a name?
 Or say, say: Are you all an upward agency
 Or undefined desires? ”

(Aldous Huxley.)

“ They are not long, the days of wine and roses :
 Out of a misty dream
 Our path emerges for a while, then closes
 Within a dream.”

(Ernest Dowson.)

“ Very old are we men;
 Our dreams are tales
 Told in dim Eden
 By Eve’s nightingales ;
 We wake and whisper a while,
 But, the day gone by,
 Silence and sleep like fields
 Of Amaranth lie.”

(Walter de la Mare.)

“ Oh world of lips, O world of laughter,
 Where hope is fleet and thought flies after,
 Of sights in the clear night, of cries
 That drift along the wave and rise
 Then to the glittering stars above.
 You know the hands, the eyes of love ! ”

(Rupert Brooke.)

But one may hope that slang and swear-words will disappear speedily and leave literature alone.

When we consider the contents we are on surer ground. The poet of to-day has enlarged the range of poetry and has an outlook which differs materially from that of his forbears. He is not deeply

stirred by sunset and evening star ; Cleopatra and Helen are mere names to him ; Vallambrosa and Claramara murmur no secrets to him. He is not touched by the sight of moonlight sleeping upon the banks or by the sound of the sweet south that breathes upon a bank of violets. He is moved rather by the sight of the trenches and the mines and the brothels. He has plumbed the depths of man's misery. He dwells not on realism but on reality, as Lord Dunsany puts it. Tears well out of the abundance of his sympathy. He looks below and above and bewails the gulf. How sweet and pure and lovely are man's dreams ; and how dark and ugly their life. The end of poetry that concentrates on these is precisely the same as that of the poetry of earlier ages ; to emphasise the glory of happiness, the pricelessness of the endeavour to do and be good, the desirability of dreams. The method is different. After all the phases, after laughter and sorrow and scorn and rage, after the storm and tempest, one notices in the typical poetry of today a strain of tenderness, sympathy, and compassion. The cynicism is only surface-deep. The passionate rage is the outcome of pity. Join to this understanding and you have the philosophy of the world's masters, Homer and Shakespeare.*

* Portions of this appear as Introduction to the *Anthology of Modern Verse* (Macmillan, London).

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION *

By W. S. URQUHART, M.A., D LITT., D.D., D.L.
Calcutta.

THE subject which has been assigned to me is sufficiently vague to allow me to say anything whatever about it, and sufficiently broad to make me wonder very much what in the world I am going to say. The phrase "University Education" may be used in a very wide sense. J. M. Barrie, for example, in addressing the students of St. Andrews University a few years ago said that besides the four universities of Scotland there was a fifth University—the "poor proud homes" that many of the students came out of, and he spoke most feelingly of the educative value of these homes. Even when you confine yourself to the more technical use of the term, you find an extraordinarily varied range of application. What is called University education in one country is regarded as mere high school education in another, and the confusion is worse confounded by the differences of opinion as to the purposes which the education is designed to serve.

But I take it that you wish me to speak more particularly about University education in this country. It is not a very popular subject at the present time amongst certain classes of people, not unrepresented in this gathering. Political occurrences of a tragic and deplorable character have made the name of student anathema to the minds of many, and, generalising rapidly, they can hardly bring themselves to speak of the class except in terms of dislike. I wish to make a simple but earnest appeal for calmness and fairness of judgment by reminding you of a logical rule. Because some terrorists have been University students, it does not follow that all University students, are terrorists, any more than it follows that because some ships are made of wood, all wooden articles are ships.

Very well then, unfair judgments having been got rid of, what is the next of the difficulties that has to be considered? It is the common allegation that the whole of the educational system, and especially the university system is a misfit at the present time, doing no good to the country, and involving us in a colossal and wasteful expenditure. I may say, in passing, that the colossal character of the expenditure is often grossly exaggerated, as is immediately obvious when it is compared with other forms of public expenditure at the

* A Lecture delivered at a meeting of the Rotary Club, Calcutta, on November 14, 1933.

present time, which I need not particularise. And after all the expenditure is not a burden so much upon those who criticise from the outside as upon the people who benefit,—or as the allegation would suggest, fail to benefit—by it. It comes from the people who are being educated, either indirectly in the form of taxation or directly, and to a far greater extent, in the form of fees, food, clothing and lodging expenses incurred on behalf of the student members of their families.

This does not of course touch the other point of the accusation, *viz.*, that wherever the educational revenue comes from, whether it comes from the people or not, it is a most wasteful form of expenditure, and ought forthwith to be stopped or greatly modified as to its direction. Great stress is laid on the unemployment of graduates. A Government official, not belonging to Bengal, spoke to me the other day of how he had advertised a post at Rs. 30 a month, and found amongst the applicants scores of University graduates. He indicated that he considered this was in itself a condemnation of the whole system. His experience and his opinion is shared by many in mercantile offices. Now, in the first place the unemployment of educated men is unfortunately by no means confined to India, although it may be worse here than elsewhere. Instances of this mal-adjustment are all too plentiful in western countries at the present time. But the suggestion that other countries are just as bad or almost as bad, does not solve the problem. The question is, Is the educational system to blame here and now? It seems to me that to answer with a simple affirmative is to put the cart before the horse. The difficulty is not so much in the educational system as in the economic situation. The fact that Rs. 30 only are offered to as many graduates may be just as much a condemnation of our method of distribution of rewards as of the educational preparation of the candidates. In any business office, *e. g.*, may there not be something wrong with the respective shares which the various workers, from the highest to the lowest, get out of the business? Should we not consider this before we right away interpret the smallness of the pay as a condemnation of the educational system? In any case it seems to me to be rather too much to expect a change in educational methods to solve the economic problem, or simply to be disgusted because the present system has not done so up to the present time. Also to suggest that the size of a man's salary should be taken as a test of his educational equipment seems to be a dangerous principle. If it were universally applied some of us with small salaries might be shown to be academically unutterably stupid.

When we turn to the positive side of the matter we find that the remedy suggested by the critics is that education should be of a less literary character and that it should be more vocational and technical. The knowledge of higher mathematics and philosophy and Sanskrit, does not, it is said, fill the family coffers. Let the training be directly related to the work that is available. Give them the education that will be useful, and stop this waste. Waste, yes, from the point of view of quick returns, but perhaps not waste in the long run. At least do not let us decide the question out of hand. And here again it seems that you are trying to solve an essentially economic problem by a change in educational method. By all means improve your technical education and it will do something. But do not expect it to do everything. It will not make a piece of land which even on the most modern methods can produce only enough food for fifty people, capable of supporting double that number. Your change over to technical education would be an excellent panacea if it were a case of posts waiting until men are trained to fill them. But that is not so. Those turned out of technical training schools find the greatest difficulty in securing employment, and there are many trained to the utmost pitch of efficiency in the West who can find nothing to do on their return to this country. Now to my mind there is no sadder spectacle than that of the unemployed expert. He has been made ready for only one line and that line is closed to him. He has not the general education which enables him to turn to anything else. He cannot dig, or perhaps, if he is a mining engineer, he can do nothing else; and to beg he is ashamed. He is down and out now because he has been tied down at too early a stage in his educational career. And personally if I had to be unemployed, I had rather be unemployed with a full mind than an empty one and a university education does at least profess to fill the mind. I should at least have something to think about while I sat about waiting. When the stomach is empty there is no particular advantage in having the mind empty also.

But let us come to grips with this amorphous institution, Calcutta University. In point of numbers it is the largest in the British Empire and the second or third largest in the whole world. Is it not too big? It is. Far too many get in. For years I have been struggling to get the standard of the Matriculation Examination raised, but without much success. The University patient shows a constant tendency to relapse. Popular opinion seems unfortunately to favour a low Matriculation. During my term in the Vice-Chancellorship,

I received an anonymous communication threatening me with death by 31st December unless I either left the country immediately or raised the percentage of Matriculation passes by 25%. The document was illustrated with a solitary figure in a boat crossing the *kalapani*, and, the period being that of the Simon Commission, it bore at the head the inscription, "Urquhart go back."

But while too many students get into the University, they do not get out so easily with honour or honours; those who continue to the end make much progress. The degree standard of the University is second to none in India, and compares favourably with many other countries. We have on the staffs of the Colleges and on the post-graduate University staff some of the most brilliant men the world possess in our day. Until recently we had, *e.g.*, Sir S. Radhakrishnan and Sir C. V. Raman, whose reputation is world-wide. Scholars seem to gravitate to Calcutta University from all other parts of India, and there are countless products of our University of whom any country might be proud. Think of those who in the past have emerged from this University, leaders in the scientific world like Sir J. C. Bose and Sir P. C. Ray, leaders in the legal world like Lord Sinha and Sir Rash Bihari Ghose, and the greatest Vice-Chancellor which India has known, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. And the University has not come to an end of its usefulness.

As I look round amongst my younger colleagues in the University, and as I see the crowds of students issuing each year from its gates, I do not think it at all a vain expectation that amongst these we may find the future worthy leaders of India. There are many qualities needed at the present time which a true University education can foster—qualities of balanced judgment, accurate information, ethical and social aspiration. I think our University is doing something to meet the need. Even if to the critical the number appears to be too great, he can at least console himself with the thought that the greater the numbers, the greater the chance of the right and necessary men being thrown up to the surface. Do not be impatient for quick returns. Remember that even amidst the hurry of modern life there is time and need for those long years of preparation which may not be the equivalent in time of the period of the training of the *Brahmachari* but may at least reveal something of the same spirit as H. E. the Governor said the other day at the Sanskrit Convocation also: "Unquestionably there is yet room for those who are able and content to pursue knowledge for its own sake and even for those who

are not able or cannot afford to do so there is advantage in the study of branches of knowledge which are not purely utilitarian." There never was more need than at the present time for those who can think quietly and calmly. Perhaps a University Education may help to increase their numbers. Who knows? Stranger things have happened. There can never be too many educated men and women in a country, least of all in India, where not only is the country as a whole crying out for leaders but the villages are waiting to absorb men and women of enlightenment, who will not feel that they will be buried in obscurity but will find in the bringing of light of learning, or medical and sanitary science to the villages both their vocation and their opportunity. What has not many a village and countryside in the west owed to the doctor and the teacher, and these have been University trained. Similarly the villages of India are waiting for the Universities.

FLYING MACHINES IN ANCIENT INDIA

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THE invention of different flying machines in modern times has not come as a surprise to the Indian reader of the two great Sanskrit Epics, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, not to speak of the Purāṇas and other later works. He has been a believer in the possibility of such inventions through many centuries. The flying stories graphically narrated in the two epics of antiquity have seldom struck him as mere myth or creation of high poetical imagination. Anyhow he could never be reconciled to any argument hitherto advanced in support of the claim of originality and novelty of the invention of aeroplanes, biplanes, seaplanes, zeppelins and other flying machines of the present age. The utmost credit he is prepared to give to the western inventors is that they have, by their scientific skill, demonstrated once again the possibility which was once in this wonderful ancient land a *fait accompli*.

The rational section of the Indian people have so far cherished these two attitudes towards this mass or popular credulity, *viz.*: (i) that one should patiently wait for further information, born of careful investigations, before spurning or dismissing it as myth or creation of fertile poetic imagination, and (ii) that there should be no sympathy at all for a piece of credulity, to entertain which is to satisfy the vanity of a degenerate people who live by the glory of their forefathers.

We are to be counted among those who are ever reluctant to cherish the story of Indian invention of any flying machine as a fact till by chance any actual relic of it is found out anywhere in India or in any locality near about. We are aware that popular superstition and poetic imagination often precede astounding scientific discoveries and inventions; that the skilled artist painter of the "Bicycle window" of the country church, the quiet rural surroundings of which inspired the English poet Gray to compose his 'Elegy,' conceived both the possibility and the form of the riding mechanism long before its actual invention. With all such precautions against bias and predilection we think it worth our while to consider below two different lines of

evidence bearing upon the subject of the invention and use of flying machines by the people of Ancient India, leaving the impartial reader to judge for himself what these are really worth. For convenience' sake we shall differentiate these two lines of evidence as (I) scientific, and (II) poetical.

I. *Scientific evidence:*

As for the first line of evidence, we may discuss with profit a very striking story of the scientific invention of flying machines in a Pāli Commentary (the Commentary of Pārāyaṇavagga of the Sutta-nipāta), which may be definitely regarded as a work of the 4th or 5th century A.D., based undoubtedly upon an earlier commentary in Singhalese. The account given in this particular Buddhist work of a fairly early date is sufficiently realistic. After reading it through one is apt to feel that this old Indian birth-story of flying machines is not essentially different from that of modern invention. The account illustrates, in the first place, the truth of the modern maxim: Necessity is the mother of invention. The credit of invention is ascribed to the renowned head of an ancient institution of carpenters and woodcarvers near the city of Benares. The required materials, the timbers of the Fig (*Udumbara*) and such other light wood (*appasāra-rukkhā*), are mentioned. The shape and the size are described: that it looked like a wooden bird (*kaṭṭha-sakuṇa*) resembling a majestic flying eagle (*Supaṇṇa-rājā viya*), the machine being fitted with an engine or apparatus inside (*yantaṃ pūresi*).¹ The upward movement, the progress of the flight and the manner of the surprising descent are described. The necessity for invention arose from a keenly felt difficulty in maintaining the institute of carpenters by the sale of timbers and execution of occasional orders. The love of conquest or the spirit of world domination was the first incentive to the flying invention.

The story proceeds to relate that when a sufficiently large number of flying machines were ready, the ignoble desire of all the disciples and pupils was to seize the kingdom of Benares at the outset, which would have been carried into effect but for the restraint on the part of the master inventor who thought better of founding a kingdom in a place far off. The whole air-force flew in a body and descended upon a country across the Himalayas where they founded a kingdom for themselves under their great teacher as king, known by the name of Kaṭṭhavāhana, with his capital known by the name of Kaṭṭhavāhana-nagara. There was a commercial intercourse between

¹ Cf. Mahābhārata (I, 148 : 5, 6) referring to a special class of boats capable of swift movement and withstanding all kinds of tides, being fitted with (powerful) scientific apparatus (*yantrayuktam*).

the kingdom of Benares and that of king Kaṭṭhavāhana. That here the allusion is to a place like Tibet, or a country near about, may be substantiated by the finer manufacture of woollen rugs (*accantasukhumā kambalā, vaṇṇena bālasuriyamaruttamālakasadisā*), ivory and lacquer-work mentioned in the story.¹

Secondly, in the Yuktikalpataru, the authorship of which is ascribed to king Bhoja, probably a work of the later mediæval period and not later than the 13th century A.D., we come across three ślokas definitely stating that the former kings of India were equipped with comfortable flying conveyances (*vyomayānam, vimānam*), in addition to 4 different kinds of vehicles: 4-footed, 2-footed, footless and many-footed,—elephants and horses coming under the first category, palanquins and the like under the second, boats and the rest under the third and chariots under the fourth.

It is easy to see that here we have an unequivocal statement about the flying machines in possession of the kings of India who had reigned in the past, there being no such exception made in the case of other kinds of vehicles with which even the later kings were equipped.²

Thirdly, in the Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra, also ascribed to king Bhoja, we meet with a whole chapter, Chapter XXXI, devoted to the description of diverse kinds of machines and machineries in use among the people of this country. Among these machines and machineries, those connected with the subject-matter of this paper are two varieties of flying machines, one suitable for solo flight, and the other for carrying passengers through the air. When the late lamented Pandit Gaṇapati Śāstri brought out an edition of the first volume of this highly interesting Sanskrit treatise in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, it called forth the following observation from M. Sylvain Lévi:

“The first volume contained, in Chapter XXXI, descriptions of machines which seem to reveal a technique really extraordinary, for example, ‘the flying machine, in the shape of a bird, made of light wood having in the interior an apparatus of mercury, a fire-place placed below; the force of the sleeping (? heated: *suptasya* for *taptasya* ?) mercury sets the two wings moving, the man sitting in machine goes to long distances in the sky’ (vv. 95-96). Here also a complete translation is very necessary; if the text be authentic, India in the 11th century must be said to have at least conceived, if not

¹ Paramatthajotikā, Vol. II, Part 2, pp. 575-577.

² Yuktikalpataru, Calcutta, 1917, p. 7.

realised, engines which no one expected. The only manuscript dated belongs to the 16th or 17th century. I had written to Gaṇapati that he had to give some precise information about the two other (incomplete) manuscripts of the work, one of which at least seems to date also from 16-17th century. Instead of replying to me personally by letter, Gaṇapati thought fit to publish the explanations publicly in the preface to the second volume. These explanations are so characteristic of his manner that I reproduce them here :

‘It may be said that since the different machines mentioned in this work have never before been known either by sight or hearsay, they are nothing but the products of imagination, and that they are not real machines manufactured and used in practice. This is not the case, for even things which have existed come, in course of time, to be considered unreal because they have gone out of use and things which have cost a good deal of labour, time and money are liable easily to go out of use.

‘It may be asked why the poet has not described the mode of construction of the machines. The poet himself furnishes the reply in Chapter XXXI, V. 79 :

Yantrāṇāṃ ghaṭanā noktā—guptyarthaṃ, nājñatāvaśāt : tatra hetur ayaṃ jñeyo, vyaktā naite phalapradaḥ.

‘The gist of the verse is that, “If the methods are revealed in the work, the first-comer, without having received the initiation from a master, will try to construct the machines, and an attempt made by such a person will not only be fruitless, but will even end in annoyances and difficulties. Neither is it rare, in the case of machines of public utility, that the methods for their construction are kept secret.” ’¹

Gaṇapati Sāstrī has defended his position also by the citation of the following śloka setting forth requisite qualifications on the part of the apprentice for constructing the machines :

“The secret together with proper directions is to be imparted as a tradition by the expert to the intelligent apprentice conversant with the rules as laid down in the Śāstras and diligent also in the actual art of construction. He who has a thorough grasp and clear conceptions, is fit to construct machines according to designs.”

¹ T. Gaṇapati Sāstrī. The Calcutta Review, Third Series, Vol. XXI, pp. 156-157.

Now turning at last to the ślokas in question, we cannot fail to note that two of them present descriptions of the details of the machine suitable for solo flight and that the remaining three are devoted to the description of the details of the machine constructed for carrying passengers.

(a) As for the description of the first kind of machines, we read :

“ A huge bird-like flying machine should be constructed with light wood, its parts being neatly and firmly joined. In its hold should be placed a mercury engine (turbine ?) with a fire-place below it. The aviator is carried up in it by the current of air produced by the movements of the two wings which are propelled by the mercury apparatus (turbine ?) within, and makes various figures as he flies far up in the air.”

(b) And as for the description of the second type of machines, we read :

“ In the same way (as described above, even) a heavy wooden machine, built like a temple, flies in the sky. The clever aviator should place, according to rules, stronger and larger jar-shaped (*drīḍha-kumbhān*) boiler containing mercury within it. The machine (moves) with a start and rises up in the air by the energy of the mercury (*rasarājaśaktyā*) which whizzes when slow heat is applied to those stronger and larger boilers (containing mercury), from a fire burning in an iron pot. That iron propeller (*āyasa yantra*) fitted with mercury (boiler) and well adjusted in the plane roars like a lion when it flies up in the air.”

In this connection we might refer to the installation of mercury turbines¹ by the Hardford Electric Company. It consists of a mercury boiler and a mercury turbine. The equipment was designed to operate at 35 lbs. per square inch gauge pressure on the mercury boiler and the vapour from this boiler drives an 1800 kilowatt mercury turbine. The advantages derived from mercury have been summarised by Moyer in these words: The system affords means by which the temperature ranges practical with steam are greatly increased with consequent gain in the conversion of heat into work. Curiously enough, the mercury boiler as depicted in the treatise (fig. 220, p. 458) is just like the mercury pot (*kumbha*) with the fire-place underneath described in the quoted text.

Lastly, in the Śilpasamhitā, Chapter XVIII, we meet with a śloka, the importance of which lies in the characteristic features which it gives

¹ Steam Turbines, Chap. XVI, pp. 457-458, by I. A. Moyer, New York, 1924.

of a highly special class of flying contrivances of poetic fame, deserving to be called Pushpaka, or 'the Brilliant one.' The śloka reads:

"The divine architect made an aerial conveyance to be driven by steam (*vāshpayoge tu*), which had an uninterrupted motion (through the air), and could move at will like wind and was equipped with various requisites. It looked brilliant and was (therefore) named Pushpaka."

The details as described in a treatise like the the Samarāṅgaṇa-śūtradhāra dealing with machines and machineries (*yantra-vīdhāna*) can by no means be dismissed as interpolations. These are all that could be expected by the reader of the striking flying story in the Pāli Commentary above referred to. Even to a superficial view, these are merely corroborative and explanatory of the points to be noted in connection with the earlier Buddhist story. The main material required, according to the story, for building the body of the flying machines was the Fig and such other light wood. The timber of a fig-tree is just an example in point of *laghu dāru* (light wood) mentioned in the Sanskrit treatise. The shape, the size and other particulars in the two descriptions are, for all practical purposes, the same or similar. In the Pāli account the detail does not go beyond the simple description that the machines were fitted inside with an engine (*yantam pūresi*). The yantra was, according to the Sanskrit treatise, a mercury engine (? turbine—*Rasa or Pārada yantra*) of the shape of a water jar, there being an arrangement for heating the mercury by a fireplace (*jvalanādhāra*). The sound of the boiling mercury within the machine according to variations in the heat produced is vividly described. One additional point of information supplied in the Sanskrit treatise is that there were two varieties of these machines, the Pushpaka of poetic fame coming, as it would appear from the description quoted from the *Silpasamhitā*, under the larger variety workable as airship for carrying passengers. The reader may judge for himself if the descriptions, whether in the Pāli Commentary, or in the Sanskrit treatise, were possible if the air-conveyances were mere creations of imagination and not actual inventions.

It is, however, worthy of note that the description is not clear as to the principle on which the mechanism was worked. The attempt was surely made to render the machine, built of a wooden substance, heavier than air in spite of its lightness as compared with other woods, capable of floating by some scientific device. The common law of enabling a hard substance with greater specific gravity to float in a liquid or a fluid is

that the displacement must somehow be such that the displaced volume of liquid shall be heavier than the thing floating in it. In the balloons and bubbles the floating object is rendered lighter by filling it with a gas lighter than air,—a principle which has its application also in modern airship, here the floating object itself displacing the liquid or fluid. In the case of an aeroplane the flying mechanism is made to float and move in the air by the strong motion imparted to the air by means of the propeller which works on a screw principle and the reaction of this moving body of air drives forward the machine ; and in the case of rockets a more effective result is produced by the application of the shooting or bullet principle. Now, as regards the Indian flying machines, there is not the slightest hint as to any mechanism for the application of the screw or rotatory principle. As for the balancing of the whole machine while in flight, the use of the wings, as described in the Indian texts, is undoubtedly similar to that in the case of modern aeroplanes. If the flying conveyances were an actuality, and if they had not worked on the screw principle, the only other thinkable principle on which the energy was worked must be assumed to have been the bird or wing principle—a far more difficult achievement which we could not believe to have been at all possible but for the clear description of an apparatus for producing energy from mercury in revolving a *yantra* (turbine ?). Whether this is at all feasible or not, the Indian description would seem to be scientifically important for the suggestion of the possibility of a successful adoption of the bird or wing principle by means of a mercury turbine, which is worth the trial.

II. *Poetical evidence :*

The poetical conception of celestial mansions (*deva-vimānas*) moving up and down, back and fro, like so many aerial cars (*ratha*), is evidently anthropomorphic, suggested, as it would seem, by the mansion-shaped royal chariots. The description of the Sun personified riding in a one-wheeled chariot drawn by one, three, five or seven horses, is as old as the Vedic hymns. In the Pāli *Vimānavatthu*, a Canonical book of the stories of heaven of Aśokan age, is filled with descriptions of various celestial mansions, the dwellers of which were the gods and goddesses of popular mythology. Similar descriptions are met with also in other parts of the Pāli Canon, *e.g.*, the *Pāyāsi-Suttanta* of the *Dīgha-Nikāya* and the *Nemi-Jātaka*. But as the Fourth Rock Edict of king Aśoka goes to prove, the *vimānas* (celestial mansions or aerial cars) were counted among the notable artistic

constructions (*divyāni rūpāṇi*) exhibited for a practical popular demonstration of high rewards of the acts of piety.¹

The display of *vyomakas*, or *phānus* (open-mouthed fire-balloons) in connection with the celebration of some of the religious or royal festivals may be regarded as a reminder of the ancient custom, and, what is more, as a relic of the preliminary stage in the process of evolution of flying mechanism in this country.

According to the Brahmanical theory all artistic constructions, such as the figures of elephants, horses and chariots are nothing but intelligent reproductions of the works of nature divine (*devaśilpānām anukṛitiḥ*). Going by this theory we have to imagine that the first impulse to artistic constructions comes from nature, the idea of flying elephants, horses and chariots being suggested, perhaps, by the changing shapes of the clouds in the sky, moving up and down, back and fro. The very name *Valāhassa* employed in a Pāli Jātaka for the sky-going horse is really suggestive of this fact.

The Pushpakas of the Sanskrit epic fame were a class of vimānas, the mechanism of which was undoubtedly far more advanced than that of the Aśokan vimānas. The Pushpakas were a large variety of aerial conveyances capable of high speed and piloted at will—a class of special chariots used with advantage for fighting from the sky under cover of clouds, or for carrying passengers through the air at high speed.

The Rāmāyaṇic tradition credits Kuvera with the possession of Pushpakas²—the Yaksha chief who, according to the Buddhist legend, was the ruler of Uttarakuru of trans-Himalayan location.³ It is from Kuvera that Rāvaṇa, the mighty ruler of Laṅkā, seized the Pushpaka as a trophy of victory. As soon as Rāvaṇa came into possession of this wonderful mechanism, his heart, like that of the carpenter-inventor of the flying machine in the Pāli story, was bent upon conquest and world domination.

Coming to Kālidāsa, we get two parallel and vivid poetical descriptions: (1) of the travel of the cloud messenger in the Meghadūta; and (2) of the journey, in the Raghuvaṃśa, of Rāma with his large retinue in the aerial conveyance, Pushpaka, from Laṅkā back to

¹ *vimānadasaṇṇā cha hastidasaṇṇā cha aglikhanidhāni cha añāni cha divyāni rūpāni dasayitpā janaṃ.*

² Cf. also the Sanskrit lexicons Amarakośa (I. i. 43), Abhidhāna-chintamoni (ii, 3; 6; 104).

³ Cf. Mahā-āṭṭhāṇṭiya Suttanta, Dīgha-nikāya.

Ayodhyā, his home, observing and enjoying the grand scenery of land and sea that could be seen from that aerial height. For us the historical importance of this parallelism between the two descriptions is that they further illustrate the possible suggestion of the idea of flying mechanism (as an artistic creation) by the shapes and movements of the cloud.

As for the flying machines forming the subject-matter of this paper, the suggestion from the clouds did not suffice. The shape and the flight of birds, as clearly hinted at in the Pāli story, were the additional and main factor.

The Mahābhārata is the other great poetical work of old which should be examined in this connection. The Vanaparva of the Great Epic contains several references to a large air-ship, called Saubhanagāra. The Saubhapura in the possession of the powerful demon king Śālva represented that class of aerial conveyances (*vaiḥāyasa vimāna*), the description of which fits in with the larger variety of *dāruvimānas* described in the Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra. The Saubhapura of Śālva, it is said, could travel in land, water and air. Śālva moved in this air-ship, and retaliated the wrong done to his friend by cruelly causing a complete devastation of Kṛishṇa's city Dvārakā.¹

The Valāhassa² of the Pāli Jātaka is introduced as a species of horse capable of flying through the air. It is said that a horse of this breed could easily carry over five hundred persons. The vehicle was a mysterious appearance before five hundred shipwrecked Indian merchants from the north who wanted to escape from their imprisonment in a regional coast of South India.

Considered as a flying conveyance, the Valāhassa of the Buddhist Birth-story has a special historical importance of its own. In the cycle of folk-tales in the Arabian Nights there is a very well-known anecdote in which the court of king Harun-al-Rasid is said to have been visited by a merchant from India who wanted to sell at a high price a flying mechanism which was but a wooden horse fitted with an apparatus inside. It could be easily set to flight by working at the apparatus which the merchant successfully demonstrated to the astonishment of all in the royal court. This foreign story is here important as suggesting that there was a widespread tradition that some kind of extraordinary flying invention was made in this country.

To sum up: We have placed above the two lines of evidence before the reader, one scientific and the other poetical. In connection

¹ Vanaparva, Chaps. 13-19.

² Valāhassa-Jātaka, Fausbøll, No. 196.

with the first line of evidence we have been concerned to discuss the historical importance of a remarkable Pāli story of the 4th or the 5th Century A.D. presenting a highly realistic account of the invention of flying machines in ancient India by a talented head of an institute of carpenters and wood-carvers. The importance of this particular account is really twofold: (1) that it at once dispels all doubts about the authenticity of the ślokas occurring in a later scientific treatise, the Samarāṅgana-sūtradhāra, and (2) that it ranks among a few other accounts of interesting scientific discoveries and inventions met with in early Buddhist anecdotes.

As for the second point, we may consider, for instance, the vivid account in the Vaṇṇupatha-Jātaka (Fausböll, No. 2) of the circumstances that led to the discovery of an artesian well. The main points in this account are: (1) that the discovery was a feat on the part of a great leader of a caravan in distress for want of water while crossing a desert somewhere in Rajputana; (2) that the sight of a solitary clump of living grass on a spot in a dreary region (*marukantāra*) struck the talented leader who began at once to reason that there must somehow be water underneath to nourish it, (3) that in all confidence he forthwith began, with the help of an assistant, to dig the spot till he got down to a rocky layer, (4) that failing to detect water even at this depth he tried to feel with his organ of hearing the mystery that lay hidden beneath the rocky cover, (5) that hearing the murmur of flowing water he began to strike hard the rocky bed to cut a hole through it, and (6) that no sooner a part of it was broken through than water gushed forth in a stream through the boring. These are the various steps which are said to have ultimately led to the discovery and construction of artesian wells in India. After reading this anecdote we naturally expect to come across a scientific treatise dealing with some definite rules to be followed in trying to locate the undersoil veins of water and to construct wells for the utilisation of the natural water-supply. A scientific treatise like Varāhamihira's *Vṛhatsamhitā* devoting a whole chapter (Ch. 53) to these rules does not, therefore, come to us as a surprise.

Although needles were in use among the people of India as early as the age of the Vedas, if not earlier, no sample of the sewing instrument used by the people of antiquity has yet been discovered. That some of the Indian artisans excelled in the art of manufacturing various kinds of needle work can by no means be

doubted. So, if we chance upon, even though in a popular anecdote, a realistic account of the improved art of needle-making, it cannot strike as something unexpected or impossible. The *Sūchi-Jātaka*, for instance, distinctly associates the professional art of needle-making with a special section of smiths (*kammāras*) forming a guild of their own, just as the flying story associates the invention and the art of construction of flying machines with a particular school of trained workers in wood. The interest of the needle story lies in the narration of certain circumstances which led a talented young smith to be seriously engaged in inventing the art of manufacturing a finer kind of needles that could float in water.

In tracing the course of scientific and artistic developments in Ancient India we find that progress advanced to certain points and followed certain directions, and that Indian talents and technical skill could not forestall and achieve other inventions made now, or made in other countries in the past. For instance, the art of well construction progressed as far as artesian wells and did not proceed as far as the tube-wells. The workers in clay were capable of manufacturing various earthen pots, glasses, mirrors and even crystals, but there is no evidence to show that they succeeded in making China wares. Confining ourselves to evidences, both scientific and poetical, bearing upon our subject, we may similarly observe that the flying mechanism did not advance even in imagination so far as to think of applying the shooting or bullet principle as in modern rockets.

These are all that we have to say by way of guidance to the reader in adjudicating upon the evidence or set of evidences, produced without any prejudice to other evidences that may be forthcoming. In drawing a legitimate inference in each case, especially in pronouncing the historical verdict upon the genius, the talent and different achievements of an ancient civilized people like the Indians, each account is to be tested in the light of (1) the circumstances creating the necessity, (2) the nature of the talent and the technical skill employed, (3) the amount of perseverance required, (4) the materials available, (5) the directions followed, and (6) the purpose or purposes served.

In connection with the details of flying mechanism in the *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra* our position is that the ślokas containing them are not interpolations, particularly as they occur as explanatory to a simpler and earlier incidental description in the Pāli story of the 4th or 5th

century A.D. Whether they relate or not to any actual machine in use at any period of our past history, even as a play of imagination, the idea of working a flying apparatus by means of mercury energy heated in a jar-shaped boiler does not appear impossible in view of the fact that the whole field of medical science of the past was revolutionised by a new school of chemists (*Rāsāyanikasa*) experimenting with mercury and achieving wonderful results thereby.

This paper is not to be judged as a dissertation on the range of actual Indian achievements in the various branches of science and art.¹

¹ The article is based upon two papers written independently on the same subject : (1) "A Flying Story in a Pāli Commentary" read by Barua at the Science Section of the Second Oriental Conference held in Calcutta, and (2) "Aviation in Ancient India" prepared by Majumder for the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

YOUNG BENGAL'S PLEA FOR SCIENCE EDUCATION EIGHTY YEARS AGO

[On the 11th day of November 1852 Babu Prosannocoomar Surbadhikary—later on Professor and Principal of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, Principal of the Berhampur College and Professor of the Presidency College—read a paper at a meeting of the Bethune Society which is published below. In the Calcutta Review of July, 1917, was published a paper of Babu Prosannocoomar Surbadhikary on "The Influence of Climate on National Character." As a foreword to the article the then Editor of the Calcutta Review observed :

It is not often that a contribution to a Review takes seventy years to reach its destination, but the following short article written in 1847 reached us only the other day. The writer of this article, Prosannocoomar Surbadhikary, was a boy in the Hindu College at the time. He afterwards became prominent in the sphere of education and members of his family are today amongst the best known and influential citizens of Calcutta. The ideas in the article have been frequently set forth, but we sometimes wonder whether they are given their full value either as palliatives of external criticism or as incentives to action amongst those who are criticised.....

Babu Prasannakumar Sarvadhikari was born at Radhanagore in the District of Hoogly in December, 1825 and died in November, 1886. He was a distinguished student of Mathematics and the author of pioneer and model Bengali works, Arithmetic and Algebra with their notable newly improvised Mathematical Vocabulary. Of him Vice-Chancellor Sir W. W. Hunter said in his Convocation Address of 1886-87 : " But chiefly we mourn the loss of Babu Prasannakumar Sarvadhikary, the erudite principal of the Presidency College and the conscientious custodian and spirited defender of its precious manuscripts and the ingenious Mathematician who transplanted the Arithmetic and Algebra of Europe into the Vernacular of Bengal."

Among the fellow students of Babu Prasannakumar Sarvadhikari were epoch-making men like the Rev. Dr. K. M. Banerji, Babus Bhudebchandra Mukherji, Ramgopal Ghose, Ramtanu Lahiri, Rasikkrishna Mallick, Pearycharan Sarkar, Umeshchandra Dutt of Krishnagore, Srinath Das and Radhanath Sikdar. The last two, like Babu Prasannakumar, were students of Mathematics and Science. They were all pupils of David Hare, D L. Richardson and De'Rozeo, all beautifully innocent of Science and Mathematics. Deeply versed as Babu Prasannakumar was in English and Sanskrit literature his forte was the Positive Sciences and Mathematics, and as a student he had the successful temerity on one occasion of setting right "eclipse prediction" made according to Nautical Almanac calculations. Eighty years ago, he felt and pleaded for need of Science education in Bengal without which he saw no prospect of national salvation.

His plea is of peculiar interest and importance at a time when the country is fittingly celebrating the centenary of the birth of Bengal's Pioneer Scientist, Dr. Mahendralal Sarkar. Babu Prasannakumar's plea for Science in the theatre of the Medical College at which meetings of the Bethune Society were held, was put forward in 1852 and young Mahendralal Sarkar, a fellow student and friend of his brother Rai Bahadur Dr. Suryyacoomar Sarvadhikari, took his admission in the Medical College in 1854. Mahendralal Sarkar was born in the village of Paikpara in the District of Hoogly (now Howrah), a village opposite the village of Bamanpara—across the rivulet Kananadi. Suryyakumar Sarvadhikari was married to the daughter of the zemindar of Bamanpara and there was early intimacy between him and Mahendralal Sarkar who came from the opposite village of Paikpara (not the Paikpara in the suburbs of Calcutta as is popularly mistaken). Prasannakumar, Suryyakumar and Mahendralal became close neighbours in the vicinity of Bowbazar and were mutually helpful in their Science studies, which Rajendralal Dutt of Akur Dutt Lane much encouraged. Prasannakumar and Suryyakumar were ardent and generous supporters of the Indian Association for the Advancement of Science founded by Mahendralal Sarkar who found encouragement and support from another neighbour, Dr. Gangaprasad Mookerjee of Balagore in Hoogly, who lived and practised in Malanga till he removed to Bhawanipur. This support was multiplied by Dr. Gangaprasad's great son Asutosh. There was thus an interlink of events and interests in connection with advancement of Science studies in Bengal by the inhabitants of the District of Hoogly that is more striking.

Earlier in the century Raja Rammohan Roy strongly pleaded for Science education and strongly objected to the establishment of the Sanskrit College. The balanced view however prevailed but Science education was neglected long. The centenary of the Raja's death will be celebrated this month at among other places in his native village of Radhanagar.

DEVAPRASAD SARVADHIKARY]

(Read by the late PROSANNOCOOMAR SARVADHIKARY before the Bethune Society, on Thursday, the 11th November, 1852.)

THE potent agency of education in the formation and moulding of human character has been admitted in every quarter. The phrenologist as well as the metaphysician has acknowledged and commented upon its mighty importance. The statesman and the politician are no longer its avowed enemies, but are its warm advocates. Ministers of religion have ceased to look upon it with an evil eye and have made themselves its persevering and zealous friends. There is scarcely a nation on the face of the earth, which has made any progress in civilization, that has not begun to think of plans for the universal diffusion of education. Even ordinary common sense is not blind to its advantages. If we contemplate on what our superiority over the brute creation consists, we shall see that it is only in the possession of our intellectual powers and moral faculties. Any thing that tends to the strengthening and enlargement of them contributes to the increase of our power and happiness. The office of education is to do all this. The patrimony of intellect which we have received from our ancestors and the possessions that have been left us by a Homer and a Kalidasa, by a Shakespeare and a Milton, by a Newton and a Laplace, are brought to their use by the aid of education. When rightly conducted, education lays the foundation of our future happiness, and the usefulness of ourselves to the race we belong to.

Society is at present so constituted that years, if not centuries, must pass away before we can hope for the universal diffusion of knowledge in all its completeness. A graduated scale of education must of necessity be in force till circumstances are ripened to admit of plans and methods for the thorough education of all human beings. The education which is to be received in a College should be of the highest possible order. Its nature should be such, as to enable its recipients when they enter life to take the lead of the nation to which they belong and to make that nation inferior to none in the world. The educated youths should receive that degree of mental culture when within College walls as will enable them to put their shoulders to the advancement of their national prosperity, to be active agents in the assimilation of their uneducated countrymen to their own body, to develop the resources of their country, to ward off thereby all sorts of misery from their native land, to create within themselves a resource which will make them happy independently of all external circumstances, and to appreciate if not to share the conquests of mind over matter.

The two main channels into which knowledge divides itself are science and literature distinctively so called. We are to see the relative and absolute importance of each in a collegiate education.

Whatever thoughts have been recorded, whatever events have been commemorated, whatever doctrines have been handed down, whatever production of fancy or imagination have been in store to beguile our troubled hours, whatever scientific truths have been discovered and preserved to make us the "lords of the creation" (in which, independent of our moral and intellectual existence, we are but insignificant atoms) and to ennoble our nature and bring it nearer to the Divine original from which it emanated, have been through the medium of language. A familiar acquaintance with and an analytical study of the language in which are to be found the productions of master minds are therefore absolutely required on the part of those who wish to place themselves on a firm footing as rational beings. But to have this familiar acquaintance and to prosecute this analytical study, a familiarity with the classic authors

of the language must be cultivated. Canons of criticisms are but secondary aids to the thorough appreciation of the beauties of a language. The authors themselves must be our study. The life-like truth of Shakespeare's descriptions enrobed in fairy colours, the sublime flights of Milton's genius, the manly dignity of Dryden's muse, the easy and resplendent flow of Pope's versification, the indolent sweetness of Thomson, the sweet but sad colouring of Gray's poetry, the exuberant beauties and voluptuous sweetness of Moore's *Lallah Rookh* and his *Irish Melodies*, the sublime glow and energetic beauty of Byron, the soul-dissolving strains of Shelley, and the mild but delicious effusions of Rogers, Campbell and Wordsworth have to their admirers and students direct advantages besides the collateral. In common with other intellectual pursuits, the study of those authors and their like make us happy in defiance of all the frowns of fortune. When we are perusing the production of these mighty intellects, we seem to be in communion with beings raised far above the dissensions and grovelling desires of the world. The daring imagination of Shakespeare moving with lightning-like rapidity touches our heart with a more than electric influence. A single sentence from him has the mighty power of changing what is gloomy and overcast into cheerfulness and mental sunshine. When the spirit and soul of poetry have entered into us and have been absorbed into our spiritual nature, truly are we then "lapped in Elysium." In whatever locality we may happen to be, whether in the midst of the howls of jackals and tigers in the Soonderbuns, or gliding in a boat under the effulgence of the moon along the alabaster bosom of the Pudma in the vernal month of March or April, poetry is ever delightful. When a doctrine of morality is taught by a poet, it reaches our heart with such impressive eloquence, that it never loses its place there. In addition to all this, familiar acquaintance with great poets, as has been mentioned before, greatly facilitates the study of the moral, the political and the natural sciences. Hence the necessity of attending to poetic literature in a collegiate education.

Essay writers, when they happen to be men of a high order of merit, contribute a great deal to the sharpening of our judgment and to the strengthening of our morals. The truths they teach being in less reconcileable forms than are to be found in philosophical works, are learnt with little effort and treasured up in our minds, to fructify at every step of our progress in the pursuit of knowledge. They prepare the ground for the reception of philosophical ideas. There is a wholesome effect, therefore, in their forming a part of college studies.

There is another department of polite literature whose importance in a collegiate education we have yet to see. Though mentioned last its uses and advantages are not the least. History by making us familiar with past events and past deeds introduces us into the great laboratory of social experiments. To know what has been the success of particular trains of conduct in particular states of society is doing away with many of the obstacles in our own way. We profit by the experience of the past ages. Were we not to be benefited by the folly and wisdom of our ancestors we would always remain in primitive barbarity. When we compare the histories of different nations, many a prejudice, contracted from narrowness of observation, leaves us altogether. Example being always better than precept, we are benefited a great deal by the study of history. Whatever profession we adopt we find history always pleasing to us. We find there pictures of all descriptions of men. After we have made ourselves familiar with history, a vast store of facts is brought to our keeping, to reason upon all social affairs. What an amount of pleasure again in the study of history! When we are perusing the pages of a master historian, what an amount of interest

do we feel in the narrative! Does not even the most phlegmatic, a native of whatever country he may be, feel some sparks of patriotism when he reads that portion of English history where the virtues of a Pym and a Hampden shine with brilliant lustre? Do we not find in Washington the realization of the half fabulous Cincinnatus, and do we not feel ourselves transported in thinking that we have to boast of such a being belonging to our species? Do we not sympathize with our own agricultural population when we are reading the history of the Plebians of republican Rome, and thus dispose ourselves, though unconscious we may be at the moment, to the cause of humanity? Do we not find our pride humbled when we read the history of Hannibal or Napoleon? Do we not in the frequently recurring French Revolutions, with all our admiration for the master intellects who took the lead in them, learn a lesson of patient perseverance on constitutional matters? Do we not feel an indescribable pleasure when we are told by the historian that the same age which witnessed the victories of Napoleon and Wellington had also a Laplace to boast of? When we are reading the history of Mohamedan India, do we not feel pity for our poor distressed country and thus make it dearer to us by every wrong she has suffered? Do we not again in reading the history of India under Akbar feel a degree of elasticity and cheerfulness in finding amongst foreign rulers a benefactor to our country? And does not that again endear our country to us? Is not political philosophy based on history? Last of all, do we not learn weighty lessons of morality from the perusal of history? Isn't there something intellectualizing and moralizing even in the bare narration of historic facts? Do we not find an invaluable treasure of sweets in the pages of literary historians? Isn't there much improving matter in every one of their sentences? Isn't there something more than material, something spiritual altogether, breathing through their volumes? Are we not convinced of the high dignity of human nature when we are studying the history of literature? Do we not feel ourselves more than human, more than those sordid beings who lay waste their spiritual nature for the acquisition of precious nothings? Are there not a thousand enjoyments when we are going over the periods of the towering intellects? Are there not a thousand hopes to cheer us on when we are reading of the progress of the human mind?

The study of history, therefore, should form an important part of a collegiate education. But the range of historical literature is too wide to be mastered in a college course of studies. There are advantages, however, in laying during the college career the foundation of historical knowledge. When once properly initiated, we cannot but cultivate with it a familiar acquaintance in after life.

Biography is an important branch of history. What a world of sweets is embosomed in its domain! What an intensity of interest in its volumes! What the state of the mind, when we hear from biographers of the modest reluctance of Newton to publish his *Principia* and *Optics*! What an elevation of spirit when we read of the martyrdom of Galileo on the altar of Science! What lesson of perseverance in the life of Kepler! What a beautiful enjoyment to observe the gradual transformation of Sir William Herschel from a musician's boy to one of the greatest astronomers of his age! What pleasure to trace the career of William Roscoe from the time when he carried on his head baskets of potatoes to sell in the market to his becoming "one of the first literary characters of his day" and being "courted as a companion and correspondent by the nobles of the land and associated on equal terms with the Wilberforces and the Romillys and others who stood first in the intellectual ranks of

society?"¹ What an awful lesson unfolded in the glorious but chequered life of Bacon! How interesting and instructive to read the lives of the wild Rousseau, of the meek and philosophic Hume, of the versatile Voltaire, and of the poetically misanthropic but really philanthropic Byron! Read the life of Cavendish and see what a beautiful picture is presented before the eye!

"He was a duke's grandson; he possessed a princely fortune; his whole expenditure was on philosophical pursuits; his whole existence was in his laboratory or his library." "He was thoroughly educated in all branches of mathematics and natural philosophy, he studied each systematically; he lived retired from the world among his books and instruments, never meddling with the affairs of active life; he passed his whole time in storing his mind with the knowledge imparted by former inquirers and in extending its bounds."²

There is indeed something altogether captivating in the life of a great intellect. What a sumptuous banquet of reason and imagination in the life of him who was emphatically "nature's darling" or of him "who rode on the seraph wings of ecstasy." What pleasure again to see in the pages of biography examples of moral greatness! When we read of a Fenelon or of a Howard, what an enjoyment of bliss! If there be one whose parental solicitude for the welfare of the youths of Bengal has been unequalled and who has spent the whole of a competent fortune for the education of Hindu youths; if there be one again who is the benefactor of our country, who came down from his high position amongst the rulers to mix with the poor and the lowly, and to be concerned in their welfare, whose secret charities have enabled many a helpless youth to prosecute his collegiate studies, and who tried heart and soul to elevate our daughters from intellectual degradation, if there be such noble beings, who is there that will not feel interested in the study of their lives? What educated native's heart does not thrill with both sorrow and joy when he comes to know the particulars of the lives of David Hare and John Elliott Drinkwater Bethune? Many circumstances conspire to make biography an interesting walk of literature. Its bearings to the philosophy of mind are many. The time is not far distant when the true theory of the constitution of mind shall have to be confirmed by an appeal to the facts recorded in the pages of biographers, just as the theory of universal gravitation is confirmed by all previous astronomical observations. But the utility of biography and the fascinating beauties are so easily appreciated that it requires not the protection of the college authorities. It introduces of itself into the closet of the student. It has charms for him that novels have to light readers.

This last description of literary productions has not been mentioned, as they are not fit subjects of the collegiate studies or of the private reading of those that are still in the college. Whatever effects they may have in improving the style of the youthful writer or of cultivating the romantic in his bosom, or of beguiling the troubled hours of a man of active life, they have something injurious in them to the mental habits of him who has not his intellect yet quite formed. If he falls once in love with them, he becomes quite unfit for severe studies. There is a seducing spirit in them that turns his head and would not allow him to be in graver company. He would be under the influence of that spirit, even if novels of inoffensive character and moral tendency were in his hands—even if they were from the pen of Scott or Warren.

¹ Life of Roscoe, prefixed to his *Lorenzo de Medici*.

² Lord Brougham's *Literary Men of the time of George III.*

It remains now to see the advantages of the study of science in a collegiate education.

It has been stated above that a collegiate education should be of the highest possible order. Whatever studies have a disciplinary effect on the mind, whatever pursuits have in their rear national prosperity and national advancement, whatever studies ennoble human nature, in short, whatever studies have a tendency to make us happy, should have a place within the range of such an education. Scientific studies have all these characteristics in a pre-eminently distinguished form. Of all the sciences, mathematics should have the first place in a college education. It sharpens the intellectual powers and impresses on them a precision which they can derive from no other source, except, perhaps, from logic. The closeness of reasoning with which we become familiar in the course of our mathematical studies gives a peculiar mould to our reasoning powers, and cultivates within us a principle which forms the safeguard against intrusions of fallacy in all our researches. Mathematical reasoning being perfection itself, a familiarity with its nature enables us to adapt all other reasoning to its as near proximity as possible. Physical truths, especially those of the dynamical and optical sciences, are not understood and appreciated to their full extent and worth without a knowledge of mathematics. It seems to be the corner-stone of all those sciences which deal of matter as occupying space and having its phenomena occurring in time. Its applications to so many departments of physical science being of so intimate a nature, a writer of first-rate ability has in full fervour of admiration for mathematics stated that "it seems to be the instrument by which we can share the counsels of the Almighty." In fact it seems to be such an instrument. By its aid have Leverier and Adams—worthy disciples in the school of the more than human Newton and Laplace—been enabled to assign a definite place in illimitable space to a planet, as if saying in an humble but confident tone : "Here shalt thou Almighty Father place a planet, to preserve the harmony and regularity of the solar system, or what thy favourite Newton has said shall come to nothing or shall receive modifications." Since mathematics can do this all, it should have a place in the education of youths, even if it had not other uses. But by a singular ordination of Providence, whatever is beautiful, sublime and soul-ennobling is not wanting in utility in the sense the term is understood in the world. To mention a few homely examples. The carpenter, the mason and the superintendent of embankments do their work in a much better style when they are grounded in mathematics than when they ignore it altogether. High authorities in all learned professions advise their pursuers to receive mathematical training if they wish to have success in the profession they wish to enter. Warren the celebrated author of the immensely interesting works of fiction, the *Diary of a late Physician* and *Now and Then*, occupying a high place among the Lawyers of England, has in his *Introduction to Law Studies* quoted a passage from Bacon to shew the importance of mathematics to the mental discipline of students of law. But independent of the uses of mathematics in its application to astronomy and other departments of physical science, independent of its disciplinary effect on the mind, it has something within it, which renders its study positively pleasing. Any one who has overcome its first difficulties can bear testimony to the fact that it has an inexhaustible treasure to bestow. Isn't here something exceedingly beautiful in the properties of the Conic sections in the nature of the vanishing fractions, in the solution of the maxima and minima questions, in the tracing of curves, and, in the finding of the unknown constant? So, from whatever light we view, we cannot but see the paramount importance of mathematics in a collegiate

education. The period of youth is the most susceptible period. Whatever mental habits are then neglected are perhaps neglected for ever.

Akin to mathematics is logic. It has as good a disciplinary effect on the mind as mathematics itself. As mathematics makes herself a helping instrument in many departments of physical science, so logic is the only guide, acknowledge we its importance or not, in all the moral sciences and in most of the physical. Being the science of reasoning, we do not see why it should not be of so universal an application. If we would not make blunders in reasoning, if we would wish to be sure in every chain of reasoning that we employ, we should cultivate a familiar acquaintance with logic, not the logic of the scholastic ages but the logic of modern Europe; for notwithstanding the former may have paved the way for the latter, the latter is by far the superior. In a collegiate scheme of education, logic as it has come out from the pen of John Stuart Mill, or as it might come out from the pen of Sir John Herschel, should be included, the more so as those that have an inaptitude for mathematics may find in logic a worthy substitute. If testimony from high quarters on a subject so clear like the present were required that would not be wanting. Liebig, standing high among the philosophers of the present age, is an enthusiastic admirer of logic. What Bacon, Locke or Reid, has said in disparagement of this science is quite unworthy their names. Their sarcasms were directed against the noble study from their observing, perhaps, to what an extent it had been abused by the scholastic writers. They might as well have proscribed iron from man's use, for from it daggers and other offensive weapons are prepared. Our distance from the scholastic age has kept us clear of all such prejudices. We feel the paramount importance of "ratiocinative and inductive logic," we feel its necessity, disguised under whatever name it may be, to the advancement of science.

We have now to see the importance of natural sciences in a collegiate education.

The universe, in which our lot has been cast and in which we are no unconcerned beings, is governed by a system of laws unvarying and open to the inspection of all who come with a devout heart and with the necessary preparations to know them. The explanation and expounding of these laws constitute natural science. As "nature is subdued by submission" if we would keep our place as "lords of the creation" we must cultivate a familiar acquaintance with the physical sciences. The lofty position, to which civilized man has been raised, has been through the almighty work of science. The loftier station, which his present position promises to raise him to, shall be through the aid of science. It is science, that enabled the powerful genius of Archimedes to defend his country against the overwhelming force of the Romans. It is through the aid of physical science, that we are enabled to travel hundreds of miles in a day, and to perforate the Alps, the crossing of which required the mighty genius of a Hannibal or of a Napoleon to accomplish in bygone days. It is physical science that enables us, with a small quantity of water, to have works done which would have required the labours at least of a hundred Hercules of the fabulous ages. Science has enabled the sailor to ply his vessel across the wide expanse of the ocean with that degree of exactitude and certainty with which he would have been moving from one room to another in his own apartments. By science have we been able to catch hold of the fleeting shade and to give it a permanent existence. By science have we been able to convert the most noxious weed and vegetable to the most nutritious food¹ and to transform the most worthless objects into the most useful. By science have we been

¹ Lindley's Botany.

able to make water and wind subserve many of our purposes and be obedient to our will. Science has made provision for our walking with light in perfect safety while we are in the midst of the most inflammable and explosive atmosphere of the subterranean regions. It is science that has provided us with a medium "to waft a sigh from Indus to the pole" with a velocity surprisingly great. If we look with an observing eye at the social condition of the civilized nations, we shall see how much physical science has done for its bettering. We shall then feel the truth of the statement that by the aid of science "the condition of a European Prince is now as far superior in the command of real comforts and conveniences to that of one in the middle ages as that to the condition of one of his own dependents." ¹ All our arts are either derived from, or perfected by, science. Anything that is detrimental to the interests of the latter is also detrimental to the interests of the former. But even putting aside all interested motives, what an amount of enjoyment in the study of the sciences! When we are told by the scientific enquirer, that the fall of the apple and the motion of the planet as well of the wandering comet and of the seemingly irregularly falling aerolite, is guided by the same laws; when we are told by him that the law of gravitation holds true in the most distant stellar system; when he describes Saturn's Ring with a minute accuracy, as if it was one shining with brilliant lustre on his own little finger; when he is giving us a chart of the moon, as if it was one of his own native district; when he informs us that there is an ebb and flow in the aerial ocean as in the aqueous; when he tells us what the state of the world was before the family of man was in existence; when he tells us that "linen rags being immersed in sulphuric acid produce a greater quantity of sugar than their original weight;" "that a gnat's wing in its ordinary flight beats many hundred times in a second," "that in acquiring the sensation of redness our eyes are affected four hundred and eighty-two millions of millions of times" ² do we not feel ourselves lost in wonders? Do we not feel the importance of those branches of learning which teach us these miraculous truths? What an exquisite pleasure then in the study of the natural sciences! Look again at their subserviency to Natural Theology. The sublime truths of that sublime science are but imperfectly understood without a familiarity with Natural Philosophy. The stability of the solar system, the nature of the resisting medium, the beautiful provision of the harvest moon, the relationship between the eye and the light, the equilibrium of effects between the animal and the vegetable creations, the provision for the sustenance and production of the human frame, and the sixfold utility of the atmosphere, are a few of the many truths which we cannot understand and therefore cannot appreciate unless we have made ourselves familiar with physical science. "Many of us do think that we may take them for granted and have thus the obstacles to the study of Natural Theology at once overcome. But we should then bear in mind that "traditional prejudice" ³ is far different from the "rational conviction." ⁴ From these considerations, we feel not the least doubt that physical science should occupy the most prominent place in the collegiate education. If the aim of all our attempts be to make ourselves and the human family at large happy, we should not deny ourselves the benefit of a scientific education. Any thing substantial that we can do for the good of our country or for the good of our race shall be through the aid of science. Even if physical science were wanting in all physical utility, its study would be necessary for

¹ Sir John Herschel's *Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy*.

² *Ibid.*

³ Whewell's *Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences*.

⁴ *Ibid.*

its moral advantages. Familiar contact with the operations of nature in her immensely large scale, and the observing of harmony in every department of nature's works, have a peculiarly soothing effect on the mind. In the language of him whose name graces that of our society and whose soul was imbued with the purest and the most profound doctrines of philosophy, "knowledge of physical science is not only power, but it's humility and it's piety also." When we are in pursuit of science, we seem to be in communion with our Creator. If we have any regard for truth and abhorrence for falsehood, if the "ideas of the divine mind" be worthy of greater respect than the "idols of the human mind," we should include physical science in the course of a college education, if for nothing else. Our moral constitutions are well adapted for appreciation of truth, and so much is our admiration for discoverers of scientific truth that the mere mention of the names of Galileo, Newton, Clairaut, D'alambert, Euler, Franklin, Herschel, Cuvier, Lagrange and Laplace makes a passage far more eloquent than if its periods had received the brightest polish from the pen of the most eloquent writer.

The study of the moral sciences is no less useful and pleasing than the physical. No education may be said to be complete in which they are neglected. The constitution of the human mind and the constitution of human society form the two principal subjects of these sciences. To be familiar with the analysis of our moral and mental nature, is going a great way in the improvement of our moral and mental constitution. To know the details of the structure of society, how its operations are going on, how its affairs are to be improved, how governments are to be conducted with the least inconvenience to the governed, is certainly very interesting. The wonderful machinery by which we perceive, remember, imagine, associate, reason or love, so far as it is open to our observation, cannot but be observed with an intensity of interest. The laws of social relations are of too great an importance to neglect their study with impunity. Hence the necessity of the study of moral and mental philosophy and of political philosophy, especially one of its departments political economy. But how far they should be included in a college education is still a matter of doubt. Many departments of moral inquiry have still the inductive method to be applied to them to raise them on a solid basis. Till they may properly be classed amongst the inductive sciences, they are not fit subjects of study for unripe intellects. They may form subjects of discussion among philosophers and of observation to scientific inquirers. But those portions of moral science which have assumed a demonstrative appearance and which have received the approbation of all philosophical inquirers, political economy for instance, should be included in the course of a college education. The substratum of everything that is to be learnt in after life should be laid during our collegiate existence, as any department of knowledge then neglected is most likely in the majority of cases to be neglected all the while. What is of more universal application in social affairs than the truths of political economy! From the highest statesman to the everyday labourer, from the princely duke to the humblest tenant on other's lands, from her gracious Majesty Queen Victoria down to her poorest ragged subject starving in an obscure nook of the 24-Pergunnahs or the Hooghly district, every one has an interest, whether he would be wise enough to know it or not, in the science of political economy. In its true appreciation, endowed as we are by our all-benevolent Creator with natural powers to carry into effect its precepts and doctrines, depends the welfare of individuals as well of nations. In this complex state of society in its present advanced condition, many a time mere common sense is not sufficient to make us understand what our interests are. Many a time we see a distorted picture, and, many a

time a false one altogether. Political economy being the science of society, if we would not resign our place there we must make ourselves familiar with its truths. On social matters if we are wise without it, our wisdom is based on empirical knowledge. And it remains to determine whether science or empiricism is to be preferred. Certainly no one in his senses can recommend the latter. Political economy then should form a portion, and an important portion, of college studies. Select portions of moral philosophy, including within that term intellectual philosophy as well as ethics, may be taught with advantage. I say select portions, because all portions have not shared equal scientific investigation. Many portions again are still under discussion amongst scientific inquirers. Those portions of the philosophy of mind which will remain unaffected by any discoveries that are made with regard to its nature are of too important a character to be neglected in a college education. They touch our dearest and noblest concerns. That the ultimate laws of mental and moral phenomena, even in those portions, have not yet been discovered, or those that are said to be discoveries are not acknowledged as such by scientific inquirers, is most true. But should we, therefore, leave our hold of them altogether? Should we not rather take a resting place in the derivative laws of unquestionable validity and push forward thence our inquiries? Would it have been wise on the part of Kepler to abandon his elliptic theory only because there may possibly be some ultimate law of planetary motion? Certainly not. But at the same time, it may be said with a great deal of truth, that this sort of duty falls on the philosopher only and not on the student. On the other hand it may be said also that the youth who is receiving the highest order of education should at least have his soul imbued with the constant portions of philosophy. He should feel to some extent with the poet

“How charming is divine philosophy !
Not harsh and crabbed as dull fools suppose,
But musical as is Apollo's lute,
And a perpetual feast of nectar'd sweets,
Where no crude surfeit reigns.”¹

Natural theology holds a prominent place among the moral sciences. But after a scientific education, its study may be omitted in the college course. The study of the sciences will keep us prepared to enter on its study when we have finished our collegiate course of education. No new initiation shall be required to appreciate its worth. The immensity of interest that is attached to its study, and the sublime grandeur that pervades its whole domain, are of themselves sufficiently inducing motives to the prosecution of its study. All that we have to do in the college is to give the proper bent to the mind.

After all that has been said before, it appears that science and literature are the two necessary ingredients in a liberal education. Neglect any one of them, and the education is incomplete. Your so-called educated youths would then receive but half their education. We connect ourselves in feelings and thoughts with the remotest antiquity by the study of literature. We establish our supremacy in this sublunar world by the study of science. Literature, besides its direct uses, has an important share in enabling us to prosecute scientific studies. In neglecting it then, we neglect all our dearest concerns. We are at one and the same time deprived of the treasures and delights kept in store by the sweetest bard and by the most profound philosopher. So, in a college

¹ Milton's *Comus*.

course of education, the study of literature in itself and in its relation to scientific studies and pursuits is highly advantageous. But to pay exclusive attention to mere literary studies is resigning more than half of our privileges and rights. The power and happiness that science confers are altogether lost. We reduce ourselves to a state very near to that of mere sentimental beings. To confine ourselves all the while, to a literature because it is preparatory to our being able to study science is the same kind of policy which would make us learn the alphabet all our boyhood because without them it is impossible to read. In fact, that training, which would give us no scientific education, which would provide us with no instrument to claim our birth-right to the lordship of this universe, is but a very poor training. In this age of social reforms, in this age of brilliant discoveries, when new sciences are starting into existence, when the whole field of nature is ransacked for the increase of our scientific knowledge, when steam navigation is an ordinary occurrence, when railroads are traversing almost every region of the habitable globe, when a network of electric telegraphs is spreading over the whole of the civilized world tendering forth its services to carry our thoughts from its one extremity to the other in the course of a few hours, when attempts are being made to bind "wandering winds in the magic of numbers," and the still more fluctuating oscillations of the deep are about to be brought under the pale of the self-same charm, a person without a scientific education is far behind the age. In this age of Humboldts and Herschels, Airys and Aragos, Whewells and Brewsters, Lardners and Babbages, Bucklands and Lyells, Liebig's and Jussieu's, Gauss's and Mitscherlich's, any system of collegiate education that would omit the teaching of physical and natural sciences would be radically faulty. The functions of education shall be but imperfectly done. The present age is emphatically an age of progress and of scientific enterprise. Volunteers for the reconnoitring of science have come down from the highest rank of scientific merit. Why did Herschel bid farewell for some years to the most intellectual regions of the north, and take his residence in the southern part of the continent of negroes but for the advancement of science! Why was Ross sent to the Antarctic regions but for the advancement of science! Why was Humboldt in the midst of Tartary but for the advancement of science! To whatever country of Europe we direct our attention, we see brilliant clusters of scientific men making the most strenuous exertions for the increase of the domain of human knowledge, and of necessity the increase of human happiness. In an age like the present, to remain in youthful age uninitiated in science and to be not allowed to enter the precincts of the "sanctuary of scientific truth" is a singular misfortune. Certainly he who comes out of his college without a stock of scientific acquirements, and purposes to take a share in the world in the middle of the nineteenth century, comes very ill-provided. If the youths who are educated in colleges be designed to take the lead of the nation to which they belong, they must receive a high scientific education. Without that they can do almost nothing for their country, since, in the words of Sir David Brewster, "science in these days constitutes the power and wealth of nations." A leading philosopher of the age, the venerable Baron Humboldt, who may be styled the Nestor of the present age, and to whom all science and all knowledge are as familiar as household affairs, in his introduction to the *Cosmos* has a passage somewhat bearing on the subject and confirming the proposition. "An equal appreciation," says he, "of all the branches of mathematical, physical and natural sciences is a special requirement of the present age in which the material wealth and the growing prosperity of nations are principally based upon a more enlightened employment of the products and forces of nature. The most superficial glance at the present condition of Europe shows that a diminu-

tion, or even a total annihilation of national prosperity, must be the award of those states who shrink with slothful indifference from the great struggle of rival nations in the career of industrial arts." Since such is the case, the importance of science in a collegiate education is paramount. The condition of India is to be improved by the aid of science and by no other means. The starving population of a more than hundred millions has to look up to no other resource but the almighty agency of science. Scientific methods of agriculture shall have to be introduced before we can hope to be out of the grasp of penury and famine. Botany, chemistry and geology, when called to the farmer's assistance, shall spread plenty all around, and infuse a new vigour into the Indian soil. They have transformed arid tracts and marshy bogs into smiling cornfields. What prospect, then is not there of the enriching of India, when along with mechanics and engineering they shall operate on the already fertile plains of Bengal, of the Doab and of the Dekkan? What task again remains for Physiology to do! Sanatory reforms on any large scale cannot take place until the people, or, at least those that more in the higher circles of society, have made themselves familiar with the truths of the physiological science. Physiology has to remove from amongst the educated natives and by their example, from amongst the uneducated vulgar, that superstition with her inaudible feeble voice has not been able to displace. I mean that poisonous liquor of which

" Soon as the potion works, their human countenance
The express resemblance of the gods, is changed
Into some brutish form of wolf or bear,
Or ounce or tiger, hog or bearded goat,
All other parts remaining as they were,
And they so perfect is their misery
Not once perceive their foul disfigurement
But boast themselves more comely than before. " 1

Political economy has to teach the poor, and physiology has to teach both the poor and the rich, what innumerable evils are ensuing from early marriage. What social misery and intellectual prostration from that single source! In short, if we wish to be our own farmers, if we wish to be our own manufacturers, if we wish to beautify our country and increase its resources without foreign aid, and if we wish to keep our body and soul in health and harmony, we must cultivate science and include it in the college curriculum of studies: otherwise, we shall be doing injustice to ourselves and to our posterity; we will be able to talk much but to do little. Again, in a country like ours where an immense structure of superstition has been raising in the minds of the inhabitants for more than three thousand years, the including of science in the scheme of a college education is absolutely necessary. Every thing Hindu is subject to the thralldom of superstition. Superstition interweaves itself with all the affairs of Hindu life. Every sort of improvement is retarded in its progress by the all-spoiling powers of superstition. The Hindu mind has been pulled down to a low level by the oppressive load of superstition. No other study is so sure to destroy this giant fabric as the study of science. Science being the embodiment of truth, it is from its very nature opposed to superstition and bigotry. In the course of a scientific study, nothing is taken on trust. Every proposition has its proof. The absurdities of superstition appear glaring by the light of science. Let it not be understood, however, that all that has been said above is with a view to undervalue literature. Science and literature go hand in hand. They both aim at human happiness. The one is as much necessary as the other to make us great.

THE ISLAND HOME OF RĀVANA

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The abode of the famous *Rākshasa* king is the subject of much keen controversy.

In *JRAS* 1915, p. 318f., Professor Keith contributed a note on the date of the *Rāmāyana* in the course of which he observed that "the evidence that *Laṅkā* (Rāvaṇa's Island home) was Ceylon is weak." Similar views have been expressed by many scholars in India as well as in Europe. A summary of some of these views is given in *IHQ*, 1928, p. 695.

Those who doubt the identity of Rāvaṇa's Island with Ceylon take it for granted that *Laṅkā*, the name given to the Island by Vālmiki, was the exclusive designation of one particular territory, and that territory, it is argued, could not have been *Siṃhala* or Ceylon as the names *Laṅkā* and *Siṃhala* find separate mention in several Sanskrit texts. But separate mention in these texts is no sure proof of complete dissociation in all ages. In the *Sabhā-parva* of the *Mahābhārata*,² for instance, *Vaṅga*, *Tāmralipti* and *Suhma* are clearly distinguished from one another. The *Daśakumāra Charita*, however, includes *Dāmalipta* or *Tāmralipti* within *Suhma*,³ while the *Jaina Upāṅga*, styled the *Prajñāpanā* includes it within *Vaṅga*.⁴ In the records of Fa Hien and Yuan Chwang *Gandhāra* is distinguished from *Takshaśilā*,⁵ but in several *Jātakas* *Takshaśilā* appears as the name of the capital of *Gandhāra*.⁶ The *Bṛihat Saṃhitā*,⁷ which makes separate mention of *Laṅkā* and *Siṃhala*, likewise distinguishes *Māthuraka* from *Sūrasena*, *Kuru* from *Gajāhvaya*, *Giri-nagara* from *Surāshṭra*, *Koṅkana* from *Aparāntaka*, *Takshaśilā*-*Pushkalāvata* from *Gandhāra*, *Madra* (XIV, 22) from *Madraka* (XIV, 27). *Kulūta* is placed in Western India (XIV, 22) as well as in the North-East (XIV, 29). We need not multiply instances. Separate mention in each of these cases does not necessarily mean separate existence as absolutely distinct entities.

There is another fact which should not be lost sight of. The name *Laṅkā* was not the exclusive designation of one particular island. Sylvain Lévi⁸ refers to "alluvial islands lying within the banks of the *Godāvari* river, called *laṅkāś*, which are flooded every year." A deed of gift, which comes from the state of *Sonpur* and is published by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar, makes mention of a local Chief under the title of *Pāścima-Laṅkādhīpati*.⁹ The author of *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders* makes mention of a territory called *Māvilangai* or North *Laṅkā* lying to the south of *Nellore*.¹⁰ These *Laṅkāś* were undoubtedly quite distinct from Ceylon. But the *Laṅkā par excellence* could not have been any other territory but Ceylon. This is made clear by the evidence of Buddhist literature. The

¹ *Bhārata-varsha*, Paush, 1336, 67; *IHQ*, 1926, 345; 1928, 339, 694; 1929, 355; *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore, XVIII.

² Ch. 80 (*Bhima-digvijaya*).

³ Submeshu *Dāmlīptāhvayasya nagarasya vāhyodyāna* (*Ucchhāsa* 6).

⁴ *Tāmalitti Vaṅgāya* (*Indian Antiquary*, 1891, 375).

⁵ Legge, 31-32; *Watters*, I, 198, 240.

⁶ E.g. in the *Nandivāsā Jātaka* (No. 28).

⁷ XIV, verses 11, 15; 3; 4; 11, 19; 12, 20; 26, 28.

⁸ *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India* (Trans. by Bagchi, 102).

⁹ *Ep. Ind.*, XII, 237.

¹⁰ P. 37.

Buddhist Chroniclers of Ceylon refer to their country as "our island of Laṅkā"¹ which they identify with "the region called Tambapanni." The *Mahāvamsa*² makes clear mention of *Laṅkāsaṅkhātā* *Tambapannidīpam*.

In the *Mahāvamsa*³ we have the statement that 'Vijaya, son of King Sihabāhu, is come to Laṅkā.' He 'landed in Laṅkā, in the region called Tambapanni.' "The King Sihabāhu, since he had slain the lion (was called) Sihala and, by reason of the ties between him and them, all those (followers of Vijaya) were also (called) Sihala (Siṃhala)."

Was Siṃhala (Ceylon), the Laṅkā of Vijaya, also the Laṅkā of Rāvaṇa? In this connection it is interesting to note that the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* (Ch. 70)⁴ refers to a river called "Rāvaṇagaṅgā" named apparently after the King of Laṅkā, which is described as

Siṃhali chārunitambabimba vikshobhitāgādha mahāhradā

This passage certainly establishes a connection between Rāvaṇa, lord of Laṅkā, and Siṃhala. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*⁵ the country (*deśa*) of Rāvaṇa the lord of *Rākshasas*, is thus described, (the *Kishkindhyā Kāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, 41. 14-25 :—

"You will see the Kāverī, abounding in sporting bands of *Apsarases*. On the summit of the Malaya mountain, endowed with exceeding splendour, you will behold Agastya, foremost of saints, like unto the Sun. The high-souled one being pleased, you will be permitted to cross the *Tāmrparṇī*, a great river infested by crocodiles. Decked with covered islets, picturesque with sandalwoods, the river, like a youthful lass, embraces her lover, the sea. Marching onward, Monkeys! you will next behold the *Kapāṭa* of the Pāṇḍyas, made of gold and adorned with pearls and gems. Then having reached the sea you will consider the possibility or otherwise of crossing it. There in the Ocean Agastya has placed the most excellent mountain—the glorious Mahendra, charming with its picturesque ridges, golden, majestic, plunged in the bosom of the great deep. To this lovely mountain, decked with various trees and blossoming creepers, hallowed by the foremost of gods, sages, *Yakshas* and *Apsarases* and thronged with multitudes of *siddhas* and *chārāṇas*, comes, at *parvas*, the thousand-eyed (Indra). On its other side is a luminous island stretching over a hundred *Yojanas*, inaccessible to men. Explore it all round and make a thorough search for Sitā, particularly in this place. That is the country of the wicked Rāvaṇa—the abode of the lord of *Rākshasas*, like unto the thousand-eyed (Indra) in lustre." Rāvaṇa's Island is in this passage placed beyond the Kāverī, the Malaya Mountain, the *Tāmrparṇī*, the Pāṇḍya country (Madura and Tinnevely Districts), and the Sea. To reach the shore opposite Laṅkā Rāma had to cross the Sahya, Malaya and Mahendra Mountains, i.e., the Ghats and the Travancore Hills.⁶ Any one who reads the splendid description of the surging mass of water⁷ separating Rāma's camp on the mainland from Rāvaṇa's island home need not be told that it can hardly be

¹ The *Mahāvamsa* (Geiger's translation), pp. 54, 61, 62.

² Ed. by S. Arthur Strong, p. 113.

³ Geiger's Translation, pp. 54, 55, 58.

⁴ Verse 3.

⁵ *Rām.*, IV, 41, 14f.

⁶ *Rām.*, VI, 4, 92f.; cf. *Mahābhārata*, III, 281, 44f.

⁷ *Hasautamiva phenaughair nṛityantamiva chormibhiḥ chandrodaye samuddhūtam pratiśāndrasamākulam*

identified (as is done by some Indian writers) with some obscure sheet of water near the Amarakaṇṭaka range. Trikūṭa, the name of the mountain on the top of which stood the proud city of the Rakshasha king, cannot be exclusively appropriated to a particular region of Central India, as the name is found in other parts of the Indian sub-Continent.¹

Some scholars object to the identification of Ravana's Laṅkā with Ceylon on the ground that the dimensions of Laṅkā given in the *Rāmāyaṇa*² far exceed those of Ceylon. It is forgotten that poets are not scientific geographers and even the classical writers give exaggerated accounts of the size of 'Taprobane' or Ceylon,³

chaṇḍānila mahāgrāhaiḥ kīrṇaṁ timitimiṅgilaiḥ
 dīpta bhogairivākīrṇaṁ bhujāṅgair Varuṇālayam
 * * *
 sāgaraṁ chāmbara prakhyam ambaram sāgaropamam
 sāgaraṁchāmbaraṁcheti nirviśeshamadṛśyata
 * * *
 anyonyairāhatāḥ saktāḥ sasvanubhīmaniḥsvanāḥ
 ūrmayaḥ sindhu-rājasya mahābherya ivāhave
 * * *
 tato vismayamāpaṇā harayo dadṛśuḥ sthitāḥ
 bhrāntormijāla sannādaṁ pralolamiva sāgaram

Rāmāyaṇa, VI, 4, 110-121.

¹ *Raghuvamśam*, IV. 58-59; Carmichael Smyth, *A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore*, 252.

² IV. 41. 23f., etc.

³ Cf. McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy* (Ed. by S. Majumdar Śāstri), p. 255.

Miscellany

EVERYDAY SCIENCE IN THE CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY

The *Cambridge University Reporter* published the new schedule for Part I of the General Examination for the ordinary Bachelor of Arts Degree. For the first time in the history of Cambridge University Everyday Science is included in the syllabus of studies. It is a varied syllabus, ranging from gravitation, capillary phenomena, X-ray and other invisible radiations, human and other mammalian anatomy, the importance of vitamins in foods, epidemic and their causes and the general control of diseases.

The Syndics of the Cambridge University thought fit that their literary *alumni* should not go out into the world without even the elementary conception of the ordinary life and its surroundings. For some years Everyday Science has been a subject for candidates in several examinations conducted by the Civil Service Commission. There are people who hold the view: (1) that Everyday Science is very suitable for young children from 10 to 13 years of age, (2) it is less adapted to the mental state of boys and girls from 13 to 16, (3) it is extremely valuable for those above that age who are not specialising in science but who must get to play active parts in a world very largely moulded by scientific thought and controlled by scientific invention.

Among the older schools there are many teachers who consider Everyday Science as a mere pretender, a back-boneless weakling putting a sham show in the strength of veneer of science. It may easily become invertebrate, few will deny, but that it is always so, is a serious error of opinion. If a study of literature may foster that love of beauty, truth and goodness, the study of science will lead to application of beauty in nature, truth in observation and deduction, goodness in the service performed by science and in the light it throws on human motives, ideas and emotions. It is true that formal science lays the greatest emphasis on truth as appreciated by human sense and human reasonings and thus counterbalances the greater emphasis laid on other values by other subjects; it prepares the mind for a critical examination of the diversity of facts presented before us. It is due to these reasons that those who decry Everyday Science as a school subject are among the staunchest supporters of formal science; in other words, they attach primary importance to the "Truth" value, so characteristic of science and are apt to forget or belittle its content of beauty and goodness. There are now numerous books on general elementary science, but however accurate in detail or immaculate in style, such books cannot be regarded as successful books on Everyday Science if they merely contain abridgements of various science courses. To fulfil its purpose its whole outlook must be planned on a different basis. It is no doubt partly from these causes that writing of such a book appears to offer exceptional difficulties. And the teachers are reluctant to undertake this owing to lack of suitable books and are sceptic regarding its utility.

Here one would like to see less prominence awarded to scientific theories and necessities of contemporary scientific work and more to the history of science and to the contacts of science with everyday life.

This bold step of the Cambridge University will lead others to think seriously. It is high time that the Indian Universities should consider whether there is need of such a scientific background for their Art students.

P. N. GHOSH

MANCHUKUO VS. CHINA

The people of Manchukuo stand firmly on their inalienable right to rebel against oppression, misrule and injustice; to exercise right of self-determination and to secede from the rule of a bandit despotism; to declare their independence and to set up their own government. It was their right and duty to throw off the yoke of their oppressors and provide new guards for their future security when the opportunity presented itself. The Government and people of Manchukuo accept full responsibility for their actions and are prepared to maintain and defend their freedom by every means within their power. Invoking the fundamentals of civilization and the rights of man which today represent the most advanced policies of the more enlightened European states, the Government and the people of Manchukuo appeal to the world to cast aside the legalities and petty international politics and to consider their case from the broader aspects of justice, humanity and world peace. Principles that apply in Europe must apply with equal force in Asia.

The supreme concern and duty of the League of Nations is the Preservation of world peace. The dispute between China and Japan simmers down to whether or not Japan was justified in resorting to self-defence on the night of September 18, 1931. If Japan was justified it follows that the independence and status of Manchukuo is outside the jurisdiction of the League and becomes a purely domestic question between Manchukuo and Nanking, in which war against the Central Government is not an act of rebellion but a test of supremacy between two independent factions. And as Nanking imposed its rule over the whole of China Proper with the aid of the Soviet, so will Manchukuo defend its independence with the aid of Japan.

Although the League decided against Japan, it could not undo the independence of Manchukuo. That, as pointed out, remains a purely domestic issue that concerns the people of Manchukuo and a government which sits at Nanking and derives its right to rule from the recognition of the Powers and the weight of its armies. If the League is to use its powers to preserve world peace, the only fair position for it to take in this dispute is to recognize the right of the people of Manchukuo to determine for themselves what government they desire to live under.

The independence of Manchukuo bears no relation to the dispute between China and Japan. Had the incident of September 18, 1931, not created the opportunity for the people of Manchuria to throw off the yoke of Chang Hsueh-liang it was only a question of time when some other combination of circumstances would have precipitated a more serious revolution. Basing their right to self-determination on a nationalism that has endured for centuries, the legitimate sons of the soil revolted against the oppressive rule of an alien regime and set up their own government. These people challenge the findings of the League that the land belongs to the Chinese immigrants.—George Rea in the *Far Eastern Review* (Shanghai, China).

B. K. SARKAR

ORPHANHOOD DIMINISHING

The sorriest victims of the premature death of adults are the children who thereby become orphaned of father or mother or both. And, conversely, one of the greatest boons resulting from the modern improvement in mortality is the saving of innumerable children from the fate of orphanhood. Just what this means to the present and future generations can best be realized by a computation which contrasts the number of orphans that result from the mortality prevailing at the present time, with the corresponding number that would have resulted under the mortality conditions at the beginning of the present century.

The conclusions from such computations are striking. The mortality rates prevailing in 1930, if applied to the parents of children living in that year, would have produced, among the white population of the United States about 3,085,000 children under age seventeen who had lost one or both parents. Of these, about 1,739,000 would have been fatherless, about 1,168,000 would have been motherless and about 178,000 would have been completely orphaned of both parents. If, on the contrary, we apply to this population of 1930 the old mortality rates of 1901, we find that these would have produced, in the white population of 1930, about 5,202,000 orphans under age seventeen. Of these, about 2,726,000 would have been fatherless, about 1,931,000 would have been motherless, and about 545,000 would have been completely orphaned of both parents. Thus the improvement in mortality in the first thirty years of the current century would correspond to a total saving in 1930 of about 2,117,000 children under seventeen years of age from orphanhood, in the white population of the United States.

The social implications of this changing aspect of the orphanhood situation can hardly be rated too highly. The children are the first and direct gainers, in being preserved from the physical and spiritual handicap of a youth deprived of parental affection and guidance. But society as a whole also reaps an important and sure gain. Not only is it relieved of the economic burden of caring for children whose natural support has been removed by death, but, without reflecting in any way upon the excellent institutional or private care that is now-a-days bestowed upon many orphans, it can surely be said, without fear of contradiction, that this can never fully replace the influence for good of a well-ordered home life. Problems of delinquency, or at least of indifferent citizenship, will surely be reduced as the proportion of orphans in the community decreases.

As mortality has improved almost continuously in past years, we may reasonably hope that the present very favourable condition may continue or even can be surpassed in years to come. Children of the present and and future generations will then reap the full benefit of the lower death-rates of their parents and the community will profit in lowered costs of custodial care and in a better trained and equipped group of citizens. —*Statistical Bulletin* of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. (New York).

B. K. SARKAR

DEBTS PAID IN PAPER DOLLARS

The vast bulk of fixed debt incurred in the United States, whether by Americans or foreigners, was expressed in gold dollars. Principal and interests were to be paid in dollars having a prescribed gold content, or in other forms of dollars taken at their gold valuation. The insertion of this provision had become habitual since the experiences arising from the Civil War in the sixties of last century.

The recent separation of the dollar from gold, along with the withdrawal of gold from circulation, raised, therefore, in an acute form the question whether dollar payments due in respect of such debts should be increased, and if so by how much (no easy question this), to allow for the depreciation of the dollar in relation to gold. In order to clarify and regularize the position the Government has taken the equitable course of declaring all such clauses void. This was done by a joint resolution of both Houses of Congress on June 5, 1933, nullifying the "gold clause" in all existing and future contracts, and approving payments in United States legal tender as full discharge of interest and principal obligations.

In consequence, with the exception of a few foreign loans containing the gold clause, the debtors on which have elected of their own free will to observe it, all debts on which payments are being made are now served in "paper" dollars. Before the joint resolution some authorities doubted the power of Congress to sweep away the gold clause, for the terms of the constitution of the United States were held to render any such act unconstitutional.

The President, however, had already taken opinions on the question, and had evidently satisfied himself as to the validity of the proposed course of action. Still, the matter cannot be regarded as finally settled, for, although two favourable judgments have been given in minor courts the final authority, the Supreme Court of the United States, has not yet had an opportunity of giving a decision. It may in fact never have that opportunity, and in any event the occasion cannot arise until the wheels of American justice grind slowly to that point.—*Monthly Review of the Midland Bank* (London).

B. K. SARKAR

STEEL-PIPING IN MINING DISTRICTS

Of all the big tasks which the developments after the War assigned to the designer of pipe systems in the industrial and mining districts of America and Europe the most important were dictated by hygienic and economic considerations. On the one hand, the rather unsatisfactory conditions obtaining in those districts with regard to drinking water made a speedy and systematic improvement of the water-supply imperative, while often perfectly good and pure drinking-water could be procured only by erecting extensive pipe lines, which conveyed good water from mountainous regions over great distances to the consumer. On the other hand, the demand for improving the economy of the large steel works, etc., was instrumental in bringing about the utilization, previously not heeded, of the waste gases, and of natural gas, for industrial and town supply, and for this purpose also, extensive pipe-line systems had to be created.

Common to both types of systems was the relatively high working pressure required for overcoming the great distances. This fact by itself

was not of great moment, in as much as pipe lines for far higher pressures had been in use for a considerable time, especially for water-supply and turbine plants, but now an aggravating moment came in. For reasons of economy, socket connections had to be employed exclusively, whereas in most of the high-pressure water pipe lines referred to, flanged or riveted joints have been used; moreover, the fact had to be taken into account that the unstable conditions of the ground in the mining districts are liable to cause displacements of the lines and therewith high bending and buckling stresses in the pipes.

Although these facts were well known when the first long-distance lines were designed, protective measures were not applied to the requisite extent. While in the construction of the long-distance water and gas lines, the use of cast-iron pipes had been abandoned from the beginning on account of the high working pressures, and cases of burst pipes, therefore, did not occur anywhere, yet subsidences of the soil, which are sometimes very extensive and can never be avoided in mining districts, in many instances caused leakages in the joints, and in some cases cracks at the welds of welded joints. In the case of gas mains, this has led to a number of deaths from gas-poisoning and to serious damage through explosions, apart from the direct losses through the gas escaping.

The safety measures now devised for the prevention of similar catastrophies, and which in part go far beyond the mark, have been in operation now for a long enough period to permit of passing a final judgment on the value of the various constructions and their importance for future pipe-lying practice.

In this connection, the fact must not be overlooked that in Europe, due perhaps to the more unified and much more stringent police regulations, any construction, if it is to be passed by the authorities, must be absolutely safe and capable of resisting all loads that may under any possible combination of circumstances come upon them. In the United States, on the other hand, the general practice is to suit the safety measures to the normal working conditions and to dispense with precautionary measures for special contingencies if their cost exceeds that which would be occasioned by an interruption of service caused by abnormal occurrences. In other words, the construction of pipe-line systems in Europe is largely influenced by the requirements of absolute safety of operation, in the United States by purely economic considerations. —Diederich in *Engineering Progress* (Berlin).

B. K. SARKAR

Reviews and Notices of Books

[*Rabindranath Tagore : His Religious, Social and Political Ideals* by Taraknath Das, M.A., Ph.D. (J. T. SUNDERLAND)—*The Reserve Bank of India and its Functions* by Sheokissen Bhatler and Dr. L. Neményi (J. P. NIYOGI)—*India : the Landscape, the Monuments and the People* by Dr. Martin Hürlimann (N. RAY)—*Modern Movements in Islam* by Julius Germanus, Ph.D. (N. RAY)—*India House Library : A Short Catalogue* (PRIYARANJAN SEN)—*Modern Russia—the Land of Planning* by Dr. Louis Segal, M.A., Ph.D. (PULIN BEHARI SEN)—*Banks and the Money Market* by Dr. Ramachandra Rau, M.A., Ph.D. (A. K. SUR)]

Rabindranath Tagore : His Religious, Social and Political Ideals by Taraknath Das, M.A., Ph.D. Saraswati Library, Calcutta, India. Pp. 56, 1932. Re. 1.

Here is an unusually valuable little book. In its half a hundred pages, it gives the clearest portrayal we have ever found anywhere, of the exact ideals and aims of India's great poet and philosopher.

The book is needed. For, as a matter of fact, there is in the public mind not only much vagueness of thought but much actual misunderstanding regarding Tagore.

Is he not a mere dreamer, or is he a real thinker? Is his poetry great, or only new and queer? What are his relations to Mahatma Gandhi? Does he work with him or oppose him? Is he really, actively, earnestly in sympathy with his country's struggle for freedom, or only nominally and half-heartedly so? Is he a real social reformer, working earnestly to lift up India's "untouchables," and to cure her other grave social evils? or is he only a dilettante reformer? What is his religion? Is it Hindu superstition? or something high, rational, worth of attention? Is he friendly to western civilization? or opposed to it?

These are important questions. Dr. Das throws clear light upon them all, and others, showing in the most convincing and authoritative way, not only that Rabindranath Tagore is a real poet of the first order, and a profound and fertile thinker, but also that he is a warm friend of Gandhi, an earnest, effective and courageous worker (in his own way) for India's freedom, a sincere and effective social reformer, a teacher of a singularly intelligent and pure religious faith, a man of the highest, noblest and finest character.

Dr. Das's little book is one of praise; but its praise is careful, candid, well-considered, based on ample knowledge. As has been said, the work is needed, and should be widely read.

J. T. SUNDERLAND

The Reserve Bank of India and its Functions by Sheokissen Bhatler, Managing Partner of Sir Sarupchand Hukumchand and Co. (Calcutta) and Dr. L. Neményi (Budapest), pp. 176+xxxv. The Book Company Ltd., Calcutta.

The volume under review gives a straightforward and at the same time a fairly comprehensive presentation of the facts and arguments connected with the Reserve Bank problem in India. Its publication is specially opportune at the present moment when the Indian public is eagerly watching the progress of the Reserve Bank Bill in the Legislature.

A brief account of the working of the gold standard and of the rôle of the bank money in the modern economic structure provides the necessary background for an examination of the issues involved in the establishment of a Reserve Bank in India. The Reserve Bank Bill now before the Legislature is analysed, clause by clause, and in the course of this examination a number of important suggestions are made. It is in this part of the book that the most valuable work of the author has been done.

Special mention must be made of the very pertinent criticism made by the author that the Bill under consideration makes no attempt to link

up the indigenous bankers with the proposed Reserve Bank. It is universally acknowledged that this link would have gone far in creating that "bill habit" of which we have heard so much in recent years. It is worth recalling in this connection that the Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee recommended that approved indigenous bankers should be required to keep a proportion of their deposits with the Reserve Bank and that they should be given the same facilities of rediscounting commercial paper as the joint-stock banks. The authors have also pointed out the rather anomalous provision in the Bill [Section 17 (4) b] which allows the proposed Reserve Bank to compete with the joint-stock banks in respect of certain types of business, *e.g.*, the grant of loans and advances against gold and securities. The approved member banks will be required to keep a percentage of their time and demand liabilities with the Reserve Bank and it is only fair that the latter should be prevented from doing ordinary banking business with funds partially provided by the member banks.

A separate chapter is devoted to the controversial question of State Bank *vs.* Shareholders' Bank. The authors come to the conclusion that "only a shareholders' bank can safeguard the national interests if the shareholders will take an active interest, whereas a State Bank will solely be in the hands of the executive." One would have wished for a more detailed analysis of the question, particularly on the basis of the experience of some of the existing State Banks, *e.g.*, the Commonwealth Bank of Australia. Ever since 1924 the Australian Commonwealth Bank has been organised as a full-fledged State Bank and it would have been interesting to examine the career of this Bank in the light of India's requirements.

J. P. NIXON

India: the Landscape, the Monuments and the People by Dr. Martin Hürlimann, DR. PHIL. D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., "Kitab Mahal," Hornby Road, Bombay. Over 300 full plates in photogravure with an introductory letter-press of xxi pages, and xi pages of explanatory notes on illustrations and a short index of proper names. Rs. 20.

The Taraporevalas of Bombay are reputed to be very enterprising publishers and they have lived up to their reputation in this work which is really a delight, a feast, to the eye and the mind. It is a sumptuous volume containing over 300 full plates in photogravure, artistically printed, depicting the landscape, the monuments and the people of this vast sub-continent of ours. Eminently suited to be an album for presentation on ceremonial occasions, the book has at the same time a great cultural value and will be of real service to those foreigners and also our countrymen who have neither the time nor the opportunity to go all over this picturesque and bewildering land with her diverse races, languages and landscapes and know her soul.

The arrangement of the illustrations correspond to several journeys Dr. Hürlimann, the author of the book, took throughout the length and breadth of India, beginning at the extreme south, on Adam's Bridge, and ending with Kashmir. In the first journey through Madura, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, Kumbakonam, Chidambaram and Conjeeveram some of the most important places of Dravidian civilisation and architecture were visited. Once again starting from the extreme south, along the south-east coast from Trivandrum through Malabar he visited Telicherry, Mysore and Hyderabad where at Golconda and Bijapur some of the imposing monuments of Mahomedan princely power met his eyes. In the western side of the Peninsula he led his footsteps to Bombay and then turned to those temples, cave temples and monasteries at Karli, Elephanta, Aurangabad,

Nasik, and above all, at Ellora and Ajanta, "whose caves are the most magnificent monuments of Indian art and of human culture itself." In the north-east were visited the temple cities of Orissa—Puri, Bhuvaneswar and Konarak,—while next he passed through Bengal, "one of the most active of provinces in cultural things," and then up the Brahmaputra to Gauhati in Assam, and along the powerful mountain frontiers to Darjeeling. In the plain of the Ganges he saw Patna, Buddhagaya, Benares, and then Allahabad, Lucknow, and the "romantic" Bundelkhand. Thence he was led to Agra and Delhi, "the classical localities" of Mahomedan rule, and next to the sacred localities of Rajputana, "full of colour and proud shapes." Further to the west he visited Kathiawar, Ahmedabad, and Karachi, but he did not forget the former territory of the Gandhara kingdom, in the extreme north-west, above all the Punjab and its old cities of Lahore and Amritsar, the ruins at Taxila, the Khyber Pass, and "the Caravan city" of Peshawar. Lastly he visited Kashmir, "which in addition to the beauty of its magnificent mountain scenery and variegated vegetation, possesses interesting architectural monuments, and the life and doings of a peculiar mixed people." During all these journeys, a pageant of scenes and sceneries, of art and life, of light and colour passed before his eyes which he caught in his camera. When taking the photos, he has endeavoured, it seems, to keep the directness of personal impressions, and at the same time to avoid photographic arbitrariness, letting the beauty of the country and of its monuments speak for itself. "At the same time that I was trying to capture the beauty of India," the author says, "I wished, likewise, to illustrate her soul. For, in the beauty of a civilisation and in the greatness of its accomplishments there lies a mightier truth than in the thousand and one details of a transitory and often ugly work-a-day world." That is certainly a most correct attitude for a foreign visitor—trying to know the soul of a civilisation that once was great and glorious.

N. RAY

Modern Movements in Islam by Julius Germanus, PH. D. Visva-Bharati Book-Shop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Rs. 4.

This is the fifth book of the Visva-Bharati Studies, a series embodying the results of advanced studies and research carried out at the Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan, under the inspiring guidance of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore; and one is pleased to record at once that the book keeps up to the high standard of merit the series aspires to maintain. Coming from Dr. Julius Germanus, the first Nizam Professor of Islamic Studies at the Visva-Bharati, and a leading European expert on Islamic history and civilisation, one can hardly expect anything less.

The book is a collection of three of Dr. Germanus's learned lectures on modern cultural movements in Arabia, Turkey and Persia, before the teachers and advanced students at the Visva-Bharati. They are all very able and scholarly dissertations on the recent developments in the Islamic world characterised by a sincere sympathy, a broad vision, and a deep knowledge of the past history and culture of the respective countries. He has, moreover, a refreshing way to present his subject, and an introspective mind that knows how to interpret the inner spirit that moves the outer facts of life and history. His reading of Turkish history and the modern social, religious and cultural movements with which the new régime in Turkey is associated, is of special interest. The book will be of interest not only to those who are interested in Islamic history and civilisation but to all general readers as well who care to know anything about cultural understanding between peoples and nations.

N. RAY

India House Library: A Short Catalogue. Office of the High Commissioner for India. London, 1933. 5s.

This is an abridged catalogue of the library, attached to the office of the High Commissioner for India, and dating from 1920. From a collection of official books it has developed into a full-fledged library, as it was found early that the staff as well as the general public required unofficial books to supplement their knowledge of India, and sums of money are now allotted each year for buying books which may help the understanding of Indian problems. When in 1930 the office moved to India House, the library was in a better position to realise its aim of being "the Mecca of all persons who are interested in the economic and commercial problems of India and Indian culture generally," without being ambitious at the same time of competing with the India Office Library or with the British Museum.

The catalogue contains the names of all the publications in the library on the 31st December, 1932, and the books have been arranged according to subjects, in conformity with the Dewey decimal scheme of classification. In looking over the names we find that social sciences have come in for more attention than any other department, and this is but reasonable.

The catalogue is a handy publication and will guide students of Indian culture to the selection of books in their respective subjects. We wish the library a useful, successful and long life.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

Modern Russia—the Land of Planning by Dr. Louis Segal, M.A., PH.D., Industrial Credits & Services Ltd., London, pp. 169. 5s.

During recent years many books have come to be written on Russia and her notorious experiments, but few of them would allow the reader to form any opinion for himself; while some of them overstate the case for Russia, others would have us believe that Russia is out for disaster and is well on the way. The present book by the author of the *Soviet Union Year Book*, one of the latest (June, 1933) on Russia, is also one of the best, in the sense that the author does not take sides, but contents himself with a review, which is clear, comprehensive and endorsed by figures, past and present, of the immense strides that Russia has taken during the working of the much-abused Five-Year Plan, in all branches of social and economic life—Agriculture, Industry, Transport, Town-planning and building, Public Health, Education for the people, Position of working men and the rest. And we begin to suspect that the cry that Russia is on the way to ruin may not be quite disinterested; on the contrary, she has made an outstanding performance, remarkable equally for its scope and achievements—rarely having a parallel in history when the heavy odds and the brief period of time taken are considered.

There seems to be an increasing interest in India about Russian affairs, particularly since Rabindranath Tagore's visit to that country in 1930 and his memorable letters—the poet was all but converted—where he so often remembered how socio-economic conditions in India are in many vital respects similar to those prevailing in Russia previous to the inauguration of the Plan. Russia too was in a backward agricultural state as is India, her children illiterate, starved, indolent and fatalistic; but while the face of Russia is changed beyond recognition, we in India are told of the "enormous difficulties" and insurmountable obstacles in the way of education and progress. This interest, however, is not always supported by a clear knowledge of the aims of the Plan and details of its progress.

To that purpose, this seems to be an excellent book, well-arranged and comprehensive ; it contains all that is worth knowing about the Great Experiment.

PULINBIHARI SEN

Banks and the Money Market by Dr. Ramachandra Rau, M.A., PH.D., L.T., F.R.E.S. (London), Lecturer in the Departments of Economics and Commerce, Calcutta University, Hony. Lecturer in Economics, Indian Institute of Bankers. Lal Chand & Sons, Calcutta, 1933. Rs. 2.

Books on the Indian Money Market and its operations are few and far between. Dr. Rau's monograph on the subject would, therefore, be welcomed by one and all interested in this intricate subject. It contains a collection of four lectures delivered by the learned author to the Institute of Bankers at Calcutta during the winter session of 1930-31, supplemented with eight appendices which cover 152 of 257 pages.

The lay public has a very obscure idea of the organization and function of the money market. Its intricate nature will be followed from the fact that the money market is a place "where the idle or surplus funds or the floating cash of the important financial institutions of the nation seek temporary employment in buying such short-dated securities as bills, treasury obligations and other safe and liquid short-term obligations such as commercial paper or are lent to the stock-brokers on an average for a long period of seven days as money at short notice or on day to day basis as call money." It is indeed more than that. It is the bedrock on which the country's national finance rests, and a broad and appropriate treatment of the subject would require the inclusion within its ambit the whole theory of banking and currency, and also mention of the measures adopted in other ends of the world for the perfect and satisfactory working of the money market. It is obvious from this that it is quite impossible for anyone to deal with all these matters in the course of four popular lectures on the subject. Nevertheless, our author has not failed to call attention to almost all the major aspects of the subject. And the exposition has been designed to be so simple and lucid that it can be understood even by the layman without any difficulty. Experienced businessmen and trained practical students of the subject will also appreciate the volume inasmuch as it contains many suggestions for removing the existing deficiencies of the Indian money market.

Lecture I is devoted to a thorough and careful analysis of the Indian money market. Here he presents thumb-nail sketches of the constituent members of the Indian money market such as the banks, stock exchange, bill brokers, acceptance houses, trust and finance companies and other specialising credit agencies whose main task is to supply the needed stock of money, be it State or Commodity Money, or substitutes for the legal tender State Money known as representative money or Bank Money. His clever analysis brings home to us the present very weak correlation between the operations of the different credit agencies in this country. In conclusion the author offers some suggestions for a compact and satisfactory organization of the money market.

In Lecture II the author gives a description of the present-day Indian currency system so far as it influences the working of the money market. The account presented here although very brief is not too schematic to bring out the salient features of the system. Defects of the existing system are pointed out, and remedies for the eradication of the same suggested. Methods to secure inflation and deflation of currency receive special treatment in this lecture.

In the earlier part of Lecture III the author takes up the study of the Foreign Exchange market. The relationship between the foreign exchange market and the money market is very clearly described. The latter part of the Lecture is devoted to a study of the Investment Market. A brief resumé is given of the various means of investment. Investment is a science. It is not well-understood in this country. Educating the investors in the principles of right investment is an urgent desideratum in this country. It requires specialisation. The author here suggests once more the creation in this country on English lines of specialising institutions of the nature of Investment Trusts, as he has also suggested it in his well-known work entitled, *Present Day Banking in India*. The author also calls attention to the necessity of perfecting the existing Stock Exchanges, and suggests the establishment of more stock exchanges in important trading centres, for example, at Cawnpore.

The final Lecture which deals with the ideal monetary and banking system, contains the author's conclusions on the subject. It is impossible in a brief review to examine all the suggestions and new views he offers for the evolution of a co-ordinated, compact and cohesive money market in this country. Although it is likely that some would take exception to some of the statements of the author, yet, I think, there would be general agreement on his observation that "the Indian monetary and banking system should be based on modern central reserve banking practice and the independent gold rupee standard ought to be worked in such a way as to free it from undesirable influences, such as a fall in the price of silver or a threatened shortage of gold." Those who are interested in the present controversial discussions regarding the Reserve Bank and the Rupee Ratio problems would find this chapter as well as the appendices of great interest and profit to them.

It remains to point out that despite sundry omissions and commissions, the volume as a whole is an excellent piece of work. A vigorous and realistic approach, with which has gone much sound analysis makes Dr. Rau's study a contribution of great value to the literature of this little understood subject.

A. K. Sur

The following books were also received for review :

1. **Ancient Solutions of Modern Problems** by Sri Bhagawan Das, M.A., D.L., Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, India, 1933. As. 8.
2. **Tarikh-i-Ilahi** by V. S. Bendrey. Published by G. B. Nare, B.A., Gaikwadwada, 568 Narayan, Poona, India, 1933.
3. **Srimad Brahma-Vijnan** (in Bengali) by Sibendrakisore Ray Chaudhury, Masua, P. O., Mymensingh, 1933. Re. 1.
4. **One God, One Empire, One Mankind** by Uma Maheswar, College of Arts, Trivandrum.
5. **First Four Califs** by Ahmed Safi. G. A. Natesan, Madras. Re. 1.
6. **The Work of Theosophists** by the Rt. Rev. C. W. Leadbeater, Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.
7. **The Will and the Plan in Science** by V. Appa Row, M.A., Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.
8. **Report on the Administration of Bengal, 1931-32**, Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, Calcutta. Re. 1-7.

Gleanings

WHERE HINDUISM AND ISLAM MEET.

Hinduism and Islam, to all appearance, are poles asunder, and any meeting-ground of the two, it is commonly believed, there rarely can be. Dr. Md. Shahidullah in the latest issue of the *Prabuddha Bharat* does rare service when he brings his deep knowledge of both Hindu and Islamic religious literature to discover points of agreement and similarity which they yet have, inspite of real and pointed differences. Go deeper into the thing, says the doctor, and the fundamental unity of the two—Hinduism and Islam—will strike you at once. He shows that both preach toleration—a toleration arising not out of indifference but out of mutual appreciation adding proper quotations and ample references which will go far to remove much common misunderstanding and misinterpretation of Islam, and proceeds to point out how in many basic religious forms and beliefs—conceptions of Godhead, of Heaven and Hell, Prophets and Angels, belief in rituals, for example—Hinduism and Islam bear close resemblance.

The Holy Quoran preaches the fundamental unity of the great religions of the world. It does not say that Muhammad is the only Prophet and the religion preached by him the only true religion. The Quoran says, "And certainly We raised in every nation an apostle, saying: Serve God and shun the devil" (chapter 16, verse 36). Again it says, "And certainly We send apostles before you: There are some of them that We have mentioned to you and there are others whom We have not mentioned to you" (chapter 40, verse 78).

Muslim saints and poets preached "toleration."

The Urdu Poet Zafar sings :

"Whether angels or men, whether Hindus or Musalmans, Thou hast created them as Thou liked. Whatever there is, it is Thee. Whether in the Kaaba or in the temple, Thy worship is performed everywhere. Before Thee everybody bends his head. Whatever there is, it is Thee."

As practical advice also the Quoran preaches; "There is no compulsion in religion" (chapter 2, verse 256). Again, "And if your Lord had pleased surely all those who are in the earth would have believed, all of them; will you then force men till they become believers?" (chapter 10, verse 99). It may be a surprise to many that the Quoran has no equivalent word for conversion. A Muslim is by faith and action, and not by birth or formal conversion.

The Quoran even forbids speaking ill of others' objects of worship. "And do not abuse those whom they call upon, beside Allah, lest exceeding the limits they should abuse Allah out of ignorance" (chapter 6, verse 109).

Both the religions teach that God is the only object of worship. The Upanishads teach, "One should worship the Soul always. The wise should not worship anything else."

The Gita says :

" Be thy mind fixed on Me, be thou devoted to Me, be thou sacrificing to Me, bow down to Me. Thou wilt find Me truly, I promise thee; thou art My beloved " (chapter 18, verse 65).

The Quoran says :

" Your God is one God; there is no god but He, the God of mercy, the Merciful " (chapter 2, verse 163).

Again, " Oh men, serve your God who created you and those before you.....therefore, do not set up rivals to God, when you know " (chapter 2, verses 21, 22).

The Unity of Godhead is equally preached by Hinduism and Islam. Some of the passages in the Hindu and Muslim scriptures are strikingly similar.

" Eye cannot go there (in God) neither word nor mind " (*Kena Upanishad* 1. 3).

" Vision comprehends Him not, but He comprehends vision and He is the subtle, the aware " (Quoran, 6, 104).

" He knows every one who stands or walks or glides along secretly or withdraws into his house or into any lurking place; whatever two persons sitting together devise, Varuna, the King, knows it, He being the third " (*Atharva Veda*, 4. 16. 2).

" Do you not see that Allah knows whatever is in the heavens and whatever is in the earth? Nowhere is there a secret counsel between three persons but He is the fourth of them, nor between five but He is the sixth of them, nor less than that nor more but He is with them wherever they are " (Quoran, 58, 7).

" Were ink like the Black Mountain in a pot like the sea; were the branches of the best trees of heaven the pen, and were the earth paper and were the Goddess of Learning to write all times taking (all the materials), even then, O Lord, she cannot come to the end of Thy praises " (*Mahimna Stava*).

" What is in the heaven and the earth is Allah's ; surely Allah is the Independent, the Praised. And were every tree that is in the earth pen, and the sea (ink), with seven more seas to add to it, the words of Allah would not come to an end; surely Allah is mighty, wise " (Quoran, 31, 26, 27).

WHAT INDIA NEEDS

Visva-bharati News in its October-November issue restores a letter written by Rabindranath Tagore, in his early fifties, to an American friend of his. Its value in indicating the lines that efforts at India's regeneration should take survive the passing of years.

In every age the spiritual ideal has found its highest expression in a few specially gifted individuals. Such are to be found in India even to-day, often in the most unlikely places—among the apparently sophisticated, as well as among the unlettered and outwardly uncultured—startling us with the wonderful depth of their spiritual perception and insight. I do not feel that India has lost her spiritual heritage, for it is clear to me that her highest thought and activity is still spiritual. In the old days, however, the simpler environment—the comparative freedom from so many diverse and conflicting interests—permitted of the easy permeation of this ideal, emanate though it did from a few isolated

altitudes, through and through the lower strata—with the result that Truth was recognised and realised not only intellectually but also in the details of everyday life.

A distinguishing characteristic of this spiritual civilization was its inclusiveness, its all-comprehensiveness. Aliens were assimilated into the synthesis; their widely differing modes of thought and life and worship being given their due places in the scheme by a marvellous interpretative process. But while the evolution of the spirit thus proceeded upon highly complex lines, the growth of the material body went on in a simple unorganised fashion, so that the time arrived when the messages of the spirit could no longer find their way unimpeded through-out, resulting in differences of spiritual intensity, and consequent compromises and aberrations in the character of its manifestations. That is why high thinking and degenerate living are seen side by side; ideals are converted into superstitions; and the finest of inspirations reduced to grossness in action, wherever the vitalising spiritual stream is deprived of its freedom of onward movement.

The problem of India therefore does not seem to be that of re-establishing its lost ideals, but rather of reforming its overgrown body so as to harmonise with and give free and fitting expression to its ever-living soul. In other words our problem is not spiritual but social—that of reviving by organising and adapting to its more complex environment, our fast disintegrating social system. It is our disorganised society which prevents our ideas and activities from being broad, the narrower self from being merged into or sacrificed for the sake of the greater—and our national experiences are being dissipated and wasted for want of a storing and co-ordinating centre. The workings of the spirit are seen as flashes but cannot be utilised as a steady flame.

In the West the situation seems to be just the opposite. There we see a highly organised body, as it were, of which the soul is dormant, or at least, not fully conscious. While our soul is in search of an adequate body for want of which it cannot give its inspirations effective shape, and succeeds only in displaying to the outside world various incongruities clothed in phantastic forms, we find the West deploring its lack of spirituality. But surely spirituality cannot be lacking where the larger self is finding such noble expression in comfort-scorning striving, in death-defying heroism. On what can this living for ideas be based if not on spirituality? As for the want of consciousness, does not that tend more to be remedied by the very activities to which so efficient an organism finds itself increasingly impelled?

It is only where life is petty and scattered, and society partitioned into mutually exclusive sects that the vision of the Great is lost—it is only there that the mental horizon becomes narrow, aspirations fail to soar high, and the spirit remains steeped in a perpetual despondency. Here and there some greater soul may succeed, like a cloud-topping peak, in rising into the serene atmosphere above; but the multitudes wallowing in the slough below are as devoid of material consolations as of clarity of spiritual perception, and an unmeaning repetition of ritual is the only lifelike response of which they seem capable.

If the spiritual genius of India is not to prove futile for the purposes of humanity then it needs must seek to acquire the art of body-building. May it not be possible, in that quest, to avail ourselves of the assistance of the West without treading that slippery path of imitation which leads only to self-destruction?

ANTI-SEMITISM IN GERMANY

Dr. J. M. Kumarappa, writing in the *Modern Review* for November, shows how the Jews come into the picture of the Hitler's programme of action. He writes:

"To understand the Nazi German mind and what is happening now in Germany, it may be worth while to ponder over the following observations which William James considered the most philosophical remark he had ever heard: 'There is precious little difference between man and man, but what little there is, is of tremendous importance.' If now we substitute 'race' for 'man' and then examine the assumptions which underlie the Nazi programme, then we will be in a position to understand the present German mind. 'Between us and the others (non-Nazis),' declares Gottfried Feder, a spiritual father of Hitler and author of the Nazi platform, 'stands this unbridgeable flaming sword of our WELTANSCHUUNG (or general point of view).' The German people, maintains Herr Rosenberg, form a race of peculiar energy and purity with a remarkable spiritual heritage of purely German character. The great empire, which they formed and which for four long years defied the world, was vanquished because it was weakened by spiritual poisons. These poisons, such as belief in human civilization (as opposed to German), internationalism, pacifism and parliamentarism, were mixed up with the pure socialism (which the Nazis champion) into a devil's brew called Marxianism. Through this subtle weapon, which it has devised, the international Jewish capitalism which rules the world has blinded the German working class and led it astray. Labour's best efforts to destroy international capitalism are thus paralysed.

The Nazis see in Marxianism a class materialism which denies the creative individual and exalts the mass; so they attack every form of the doctrine of Marx, from extreme left communism to mild revisionism. But this alone will be fruitless, they maintain, until the 'bacillus' which poisons the German blood and devitalizes the German spirit has been destroyed; and so a pitiless war, they believe, must be waged on Jews and their influence. These once removed, Herr Rosenberg declares, it will be possible to unite the working classes with the middle classes into a glorious whole from which the spirit of materialism and gain has been uprooted. German workers are never again to make the mistake of feeling more closely akin to the workers of other nations than to their own employers. It is on the foundation of a purified racial and national outlook that the structure of German culture and national life is to be rebuilt."

Dr. Kumarappa proceeds:

"The whole racial problem in Germany seems to centre round the fact that the German Jews have not become assimilated in Germany as they have, for instance, in England;.....they always remain as an alien substance in the life of the nation. Though the Eastern Jews speak the language and adopt the customs and habits of the German people, they seldom imbibe the German spirit and culture. Therefore, Jews, not being of the German people, easily carry on, so the Germans say, propaganda against the nation.....These un-German tendencies on the part of Jews have naturally aroused bitter feelings against them, and the government has only sought to direct this feeling into legal and properly regulated channels.....If the government had not stepped in and taken the situation in hand at the critical moment, legalised

the boycott and steered it into organised channels, this feeling, the Germans say, would have broken out among the nation at large and might have caused immeasurable damage. The Government control of the boycott helped to carry it through with unparalleled discipline.

The other side of the medal is shown in the same journal by Mr. Wilfred Welcock, who considers the underlying purpose of the Nazi move to be "the subjugation and dragooning of the workers in the interest of the Middle classes" and affirms that "this policy of revolution by racial hatred," unless abandoned, "will sooner or later light fires which will burn to the ground the entire fabric of modern civilization." Says he:

"From first to last the Nazis have appealed to the lowest elements in human nature, having sought to gain their chief support from intensive hatreds, which have been stimulated by terrific engines of propaganda. In this endeavour they have fallen on what is the recognised sheet-anchor of all hatred-mongers, viz., race hatred. Working-class emancipation from economic domination was the central fear of the German Middle classes, which was symbolised in Marxism, Communism and Internationalism. But it was not enough to attack these in a straightforward way. They must be converted into monsters and hatred to which end the element of race was brought in. The Jewish question served this purpose admirably. So the Jews were laid on the altar of Fascism, and hatred of Jews being hitched to the fear and hatred of communism, an ideal weapon for carrying through a reactionary revolution was secured."

AFGHANISTAN UNDER NADIR SHAH

High tributes are paid to the abilities of Nadir Shah as a king and statesman by Mr. Vasudeo B. Mehta, writing under the above caption in the *Indian Review*, November, 1933, and a review of Afghanistan's progress under his rule is also given which will be read with peculiar interest in view of the recent assassination of a King Nadir.

During the last three years and nine months that Nadir Shah has been on the throne, he has restored law, order, prosperity and progress to the country. He has been able to do this without risking the loss of his kingdom, because he understands the mentality of his people better than did Amanullah.

Nadir Shah does nothing that is likely to hurt the susceptibilities of any section of his people. Amanullah tried to persecute the *mullahs*, secularize the laws, force the members of his parliament to shave off their beards and wear European dress and the women to cast off their veil. He was, therefore, hated by his people and hounded out of the country. But Nadir Shah is tolerant, and acts according to the teachings of the Koran and so he is greatly loved by the Afghans.

Nadir Shah is not an autocrat of the old type. He governs his country with the help of a Cabinet and Parliament. The members of the Cabinet are nominated by him from amongst his trusted officials. The Afghan Parliament consists of two Chambers—the upper being called the Chamber of Nobles, the lower the Council of State. Members of the former are appointed by the king, while those of the latter are elected by the people. The Upper Chamber deals with matters referred to it by the Cabinet, and its recommendations pass to the Council of State. In case of difference of opinion between the two Chambers, the matter is referred

to a Conference Committee of at least twenty persons, half selected from the two houses. The recommendations of this Committee are then sent to the Council of State. In the event of the Council's refusal to act according to the Committee's recommendations, the matter is submitted to the king for decision. The king can pass an emergency measure, but that measure must be approved at the next session of the Parliament. The Afghan Parliament is fully qualified to pass any laws it likes. Its members have the right of free speech, the Prime Minister and his Cabinet are responsible to it, and the press and the public are admitted to its sessions. The number of newspapers in Kabul has almost doubled since the days of Amanullah.

Individual liberty is guaranteed by law in Afghanistan. Nor can private property be confiscated by the State without good reasons. The judicial system has been reorganized.

Education is now compulsory in the country. It is the first item on the budget, and one-third of the land revenue has been set aside to meet the grant. A number of primary, middle and night schools have been opened during the last three years. There are three big schools in Kabul and eight months ago a university was opened there. As at present there is not a sufficient number of school buildings in the country, some of the old royal palaces are being used for the purpose. The three high schools at the capital—Habibieh, Amanieh and Amani—are staffed by Europeans and besides other subjects, English, French, and German respectively are taught there. Promising students from the middle schools are sent to these high schools, and then to the university. The institution of travelling teachers have also been introduced. Lecturers and demonstrators are sent on instruction tours to the remotest villages. Text-books on various subjects are distributed gratis among village boys, and after a month or six weeks an examiner goes to the villages to test the boys. Courses in agricultural improvement are also given by these itinerant teachers.

The old roads have been improved and new roads built. Motor-lorries are increasingly used in place of donkeys for transportation purposes. At present there is only one railway in the country, that between Kabul and Dar-ul-Aman, the new capital which Amanullah started to build and which the present king is graciously finishing without wishing to alter its name to Dar-ul-Nadir. But projects for building more railways are being considered. And when these materialize—which will be before long—Afghanistan will be linked up with India on the one hand and with Russia on the other. The Junkers have been given the right to build airways to connect the country with the outside world.

Trade, industries and agriculture are encouraged. The old industries of the country, such as silk, felts, carpets and articles of goats' and camels' hair are encouraged, and factories for new industries, such as matches, buttons, and leather goods have been established. Coal and other minerals are being worked, and it is hoped to exploit before long the oil-fields near Herat. New agricultural machinery is introduced and a model farm has been started near Kabul.

King Nadir Shah's great object is to have peace, internal and external. He has secured it internally by good and yet strong government, and externally by concluding friendly or commercial treaties with England, Russia, France, Germany, Italy and Turkey.

At Home and Abroad

Two New Oriental Journals in Calcutta

Indological studies in Calcutta have been given a fillip by the publication of yet another journal devoted to Sanskritic studies. *The Calcutta Oriental Journal*, so the new publication has been named, is a monthly journal edited by Mr. Kshitischandra Chatterjee, Lecturer, Calcutta University, and a Sanskrit scholar of repute. That he is making a sincere and energetic attempt to make his laudable venture a success will be evident from the very first two numbers that have been published. He has already been able to enlist the support of a small but devoted and worthy band of contributors, mainly from our University, and the sympathy of a large number of scholars besides. The annual subscription of the Journal is Rs. 6 only inclusive of postage, and the office is located at 61-A, Ramkanta Bose Street, Baghbazar, Calcutta.

It is understood that the Greater India Society of Calcutta is also going to have its own Journal soon. The first number is proposed to be published in January, and there will ordinarily be two issues in the year.

All-India Educational Conference

Sir Ross Masood, Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh University, will preside over the 9th All-India Educational Conference to be held at Karachi between December 27 and 30. In conjunction with the Conference the Reception Committee have arranged an educational exhibition, an All-India singles tennis-tournament for which all *bona-fide* educationists are eligible, a Scout-rally, a physical training display and several excursions to places of local interest. It is also proposed that a special excursion be made to the ruins at Mohenjo-Daro and to the Sukkur Barrage.

Proposal for a new University

Peer Bakhsh Khan has given notice of a resolution to be moved in the forthcoming session of the North-western Frontier Province Legislative Council recommending the Governor-in-Council to move the Government of India to take steps for early establishment of Khyber University.

Benares Hindu University

The Sixteenth Convocation of the Benares Hindu University for the purpose of conferring degrees will be held on Monday, December 11, 1933, at 2-30 P.M. His Highness Maharaja Sir Aditya Narain Singh, K.C.S.I., Pro-Chancellor of the University, will preside. An important feature of the Convocation will be the conferment of the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Letters on Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer, Kt., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., the Second Vice-Chancellor of the University.

U. P. University Students' Conference

It is understood that attempts are being made to convene a joint U.P. University Students' Conference at Lucknow on the first three days of December. A strong reception committee has been formed with Dr. V. S. Ram as Chairman, Mr. D. E. Asirvatham as Treasurer and Messrs. J. P. Bhatnagar and B. P. Sinha as Joint Secretaries. The object of the conference is said to be to promote educational and social activities among the university students of these provinces through educational tours and summer camps. A quarterly journal will also be run to assist in these activities and may serve as a nucleus for an all-India Students' Federation formed on the lines of the National Federation of Students in Great Britain, Germany and the U. S. A. Some important Indian educationists will, it is hoped, preside over the December session.

Delhi University

His Excellency the Chancellor of the Delhi University has re-appointed Sir Fazli Hussain to be the Pro-Chancellor of that University for a further period of three years.

New Building for Agra University

His Excellency the Governor of the U. P. laid on November 4 last the foundation-stone of the Agra University in the Hewett Park, in the presence of a large number of educationists and leading citizens. Before requesting His Excellency to lay the foundation-stone, the Vice-Chancellor pointed out the various difficulties which the University has been facing for want of a building of her own.

The Convocation of the Agra University was held this year the day following in the Meston Hall of the Agra College. His Excellency the Chancellor graced the occasion by his presence. There was a huge gathering of educationists and distinguished citizens. The Convocation address was delivered by Lala Diwanchand, the Vice-Chancellor.

Andhra University

On being invited by the Andhra University, Rabindranath is going to Waltair to deliver a series of three lectures at the University there. The series is entitled "Man" and the lectures will be given on 8th, 9th and 10th December next.

Mass Education for Girls

At a meeting recently held of the Calcutta Constituency of the All-India Women's Conference at the Y.W.C.A. Hall, Calcutta, resolutions were passed urging the necessity for an intensive campaign of mass education for girls; requesting the Calcutta University, in view of the increasing number of girl students who come to Calcutta yearly for their studies, to create a post for a qualified woman to supervise all recognized hostels for girls and emphasizing that physical culture should be made compulsory for girls in schools.

An Endowment for Dacca University

It is understood that the Dacca University authorities have accepted the endowment offered by Dr. K. S. Krishnan, Reader in Physics at that University and now Secretary, Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science. Dr. Krishnan's endowment for Rs. 3,000 will take the shape of three prizes annually in such form as the University thinks fit to be given away to the University student for the best research work in the year in the field of Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry, respectively. With a view to commemorate their respective services in their cause, the prizes will be called after the names of Mr. S. Ramanujam (deceased), Sir C. V. Raman and Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray.

Aligarh Convocation Address

In delivering his Convocation Address at the Aligarh Moslem University, Sir George Anderson, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, dealt with a very pertinent question that deserves to be seriously considered. One of the dangers to the well-being of a university, said Sir George, "is the practice of premature specialisation which is now so prevalent in Indian Universities. Taking into account the handicaps resulting from imperfect schooling and from the use of a foreign medium, it is surely premature for a student to confine himself very largely to a single object after having passed the intermediate at the age of seventeen or eighteen. Is there not also a danger that the bulk of the teaching and financial resources tends to be diverted to finance this specialised study to the detriment of those who desire a more general form of education ?

Good training in college should be preceded by good training in school. Training in a university, however efficient it may be, cannot be regarded as a satisfactory substitute for school training for a boy up to the age of seventeen or eighteen. The period of school training in India is too short for those who aspire to a university course ; it is too long for those whose bent lies in other directions. The various stages of education, primary, secondary, and higher secondary, are too intermingled one with another and pupils are often led on to a higher stage, merely because they have been unable to attain the objective of a lower stage. In consequence, the intermediate and higher classes of schools are closed by large numbers of boys who are prolonging unduly their literary studies and are thereby wasting their own time and other people's money. But a boy should not be denied education merely because he has no aptitude for literary education. My own feeling is that the stage of secondary education should be terminated at an earlier age than at present, and that many boys should then be diverted to practical pursuits or to vocational training given in purely vocational institutions. The way would then be clear for a higher secondary course, which would provide for those boys who are fitted for it a thorough grounding for university studies."

Education in Bengal

Unfavourable conditions, political and financial, checked the progress and expansion of educational activities in Bengal during the years 1927 to 1932, states a Government resolution in reviewing the progress of education in the province.

Primary Education.—The outstanding feature of the period was the enactment in 1930 of the Bengal (Rural) Primary Education Act, which provides for the establishment of District School Boards as the central authority for primary education in each district, and affords the machinery for the eventual development of free and compulsory primary education throughout the province. For its financing the scheme depends in the main upon the imposition of a primary education cess, and it is regretted that, owing to the prevailing depression, it has not been found possible to impose additional taxation on the rural population.

While the Rural Primary Education Act has been placed on the Statute Book, no further progress has been made with the proposed Bills for the reorganization of Calcutta University and the establishment of a Board to control Secondary Education.

In all directions, and particularly in the sphere of primary education, unmistakable evidence is forthcoming that the quality of the work done and the results achieved do not repay the expenditure of money and effort. Better trained and better paid teachers are essential.

The spread of primary education, however, was not as satisfactory as the figures would imply: the wastage was very great and the number of those who read up to class IV was comparatively small; in fact, according to the census figures of 1921 and 1931 the percentage of literacy actually fell during that period.

University Education.—No further progress was made during the quinquennium in the reconstruction of Calcutta University on the lines laid down by the Sadler Commission or in the development of the Secondary Education Board. The outstanding feature of the period, so far as Calcutta was concerned, was the appointment of the University Organization Committee. Their report formed the basis of the financial settlement, which was eventually reached between the Government and the University and which, on certain conditions, assured the University of an annual recurring grant of Rs. 3,60,000. This has enabled the University to balance its budget and to make its plans for the future with some degree of stability.

The resolution issued in 1928 commented upon the marked fall in the number of students in the post-graduate classes of Calcutta University. The number increased from 989 in 1926-27 to 1,483 in 1929-30, but fell again to 1,144 in 1931-32, the decrease corresponding to the period of economic and political troubles.

There was a gratifying increase in the number of women students in the post-graduate classes.

No new college was opened during the period, but four Anglo-Indian schools adopted the University course and there are now 33 first-grade and 16 second-grade or Intermediate Arts Colleges, of which four are for women. The total number of students decreased from 22,420 to 19,744.

Secondary Education.—The number of high schools increased from 785 in 1926-27 to 1,076 in 1931-32 and that of middle English schools from 1,616 to 1,845, while the number of middle vernacular schools fell from 74 to 54. The number of pupils increased from 293,843 to 256,524 in high schools and from 142,684 to 177,102 in middle English schools, and it decreased from 4,802 to 3,986 in middle vernacular schools.

Education of Girls.—The number of girls' schools increased by 19 per cent. and their enrolment by 28 per cent. during the quinquennium. There were 770 girls in colleges in 1931-32 against 364 in 1926-27, 10,655 in high schools against 4,801, 9,506 in middle schools against 8,269 and 518, 544 against 396,056 in primary schools. The increase was again most pronounced in the college and high school stages. There are four colleges for women and in addition several men's colleges have classes for women

students. The number of women candidates, who passed University examinations, doubled itself at every stage. In 1931-32 there was 303,830 Moslem girls in public institutions, forming 56 per cent. of the whole as against 54 per cent. five years previously.

The percentage of passes in the Intermediate and Degree Examinations again increased. There was a more general recognition of the value of games and physical exercise, and more intensive tutorial work was done in some of the colleges.

Education Conference

Under the auspices of the Ministry of Education, Bengal, a conference was held at Government House, Calcutta, on 23rd November last, to consider the future lines of educational development in all its branches.

His Excellency Sir John Anderson opened the proceedings which was attended by representatives of the Government, the Universities of Calcutta and Dacca, and several prominent educationists.

Allahabad University Convocation

The Convocation of Allahabad University, fixed for November 25, has been postponed to December 16 to enable Sir Malcolm Hailey to preside as Chancellor and to receive the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws conferred by the University.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru will deliver the Convocation address.

Andhra University Convocation

Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore has intimated acceptance of the invitation to deliver the convocation address at the Andhra University some time during the first week of December next. Exact date of the convocation ceremony will be fixed later on to suit Dr. Tagore's engagements in Bombay and other places.

Sir P. C. Ray

The Senate of the Deutsche Akademie, Munich, Germany, in its 7th General meeting held on 13th and 14th October in Munich, decided unanimously to appoint Sir P. C. Ray an honorary correspondence member of the Akademie in view of his scientific services to the development of Chemistry in India. The Akademie hopes that his nomination to this Akademie will further contribute to the strengthening of the intellectual bonds between Germany and India, which the Deutsche Akademie sincerely strives after.

Ourselfes

[The Educational Conference—Indian Economic Conference—A New Ph.D.—Appointment of Fellows—Tagore Professor—Prof. Suhrawardy—Training Class for Librarians—Bankura College—Regulations for London M.B.B.S.—Dacca Secondary Board—A Gift for Female Education—An Endowment—New Centres for University Examination—Sir Taraknath Palit Foreign Scholars—The Indian Medical Council—The Prabāsi Banga Sāhitya Sammilan—Progress of researches—Visit of the British Universities' Debating Team to the Calcutta University—Among our Latest Publications—Appendix]

I. THE EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

An Educational Conference was held at Government House on the 23rd, 24th and 25th November. The Conference was attended by representatives of the Government of Bengal, the Government of Assam, Calcutta University, Dacca University, All-Bengal Teachers' Association and several other members who were specially invited by Government. The Conference was opened by His Excellency the Chancellor. In his opening speech His Excellency stated that the object of the Conference was to make an attempt to arrive at some degree of unanimity as to what should be the aims and ideals of the educational policy in Bengal. A summary of its proceedings has appeared in some of the local papers. It is however difficult to express an opinion on the resolutions unless we have an opportunity of examining them in detail, particularly in relation to the discussions which took place at the sittings of the Conference. We may, however, deal with some of the questions, so far as available materials will permit us to do so.

It appears that the Conference was mainly occupied with a discussion of the present system of secondary education in Bengal. There is no question that one of the most pressing educational problems of the day is the reorganisation of secondary education in the province. We find that the Conference was asked to express its opinion on the question of future control of secondary education. On this matter the University has expressed its opinion on more than one occasion. The University is not against the establishment of a Board, provided certain essential conditions are fulfilled. The Board must be statutory and constituted on academic principles; it must be autonomous, that is, it must be given real powers to shape the educational policy of the province; it must also be provided with adequate funds. In 1929, when the matter came before the Senate, the view-point of the University was embodied in a report which was duly forwarded to Government. For the last four years Government have not dealt with this question and if there has been delay in the establishment of a Board of Secondary Education in Bengal, the blame does not lie with the University. In that report the opinion was expressed that

the conduct of the Matriculation Examination should be left to the University. The chief reason why this was recommended was that there was no possibility of Government making good the financial loss which the University would suffer if the control for the Matriculation Examination were withdrawn from it. It may be recalled that the teaching activities of the University are partially financed by examination fees; if the fee-income is reduced and the University is to continue its activities, financial readjustment must be made. We were glad to note that the Conference recognised the validity of the position taken up by the University in this connection. Before we leave this topic we would like to make it quite clear that public opinion in Bengal will not view with favour any proposal to transfer the control of Secondary Education to Government either directly or indirectly.

One distressing feature of the proceedings of the Conference was that the Minister for Education was unable to give any assurance of the nature and extent of financial assistance which Government would be in a position to render for the future educational expansion of the province. It is our deliberate opinion that the chief reason why education has suffered in this province is that Government, whatever the reasons may be, have not found it possible to lend adequate financial support to the institutions where education is now imparted to the youths of the province.

One of the important questions raised was the number of high schools in Bengal. We all know that the condition of the majority of the high schools is not what it should be. But we refuse to believe that it is due to any deliberate lack of effort on the part of the organisers of the schools. The enthusiasm is there, the spirit of sacrifice is there, but there is a chronic want of funds. We do not regard 1,200 High Schools as too many for Bengal. Neither do we think that a reduction in their number will be in the best interests of the province. The remedy lies not in providing for greater control, not in reducing the number of schools, but in helping with grants-in-aid the struggling institutions which cannot now make both ends meet. The rules of grants-in-aid must be formulated in such a way as to secure academic efficiency and also protect the independence of the schools.

A proposal has been accepted that there should be a survey of secondary schools in the province. We desire to emphasise that this survey should be undertaken with an open mind, with a genuine anxiety to do something of a constructive nature, with a real desire to further the cause of education in the province.

If the survey is undertaken with the preconceived notion of curtailing the number of schools, with the idea of mere faultfinding, it is doomed to failure.

We regret that sufficient importance was not attached to the immediate necessity of overhauling the present system of education. The new Matriculation Regulations are pending before Government for more than a year. They were first formulated nearly 12 years ago and we are anxious that they should be brought into force without any further delay. This, at any rate, is an instance of constructive work on the part of the University which deserves the support of every well-wisher of the province. We were glad to note that the Minister for Education announced his general approval of the scheme of studies proposed in the new Regulations, although he indicated that there was room for difference of opinion with regard to questions of detail. He further stated that in the course of the next two or three months the Regulations were expected to be sanctioned by Government. In the meantime the University would be informed on what points Government are unable to agree with the recommendations made by the University.

We find ourselves in complete agreement with the decision of the Conference against the proposal of dividing the classes of a high school into three sections,—primary classes, middle-English classes and high-school classes. There is no reason why the present continuation—schools should be broken into three as proposed by the Department; the Conference has acted wisely in not accepting any rigid principle to that effect.

We find a resolution has been adopted urging Government to provide for a more adequate supply of trained teachers. The two Teachers' Training Colleges can barely accommodate 180 students each year, while the number of applicants every year is about 1,000. This is a matter which deserves the immediate attention of Government.

We are also in agreement with the proposal that there should be no age-limit for admission to the Matriculation Examination. This is in accordance with the new Matriculation Regulations.

With regard to collegiate education we find a draft scheme was submitted to the Conference for discussion. According to it a policy of deprovincialisation was to be partially introduced, and some of the Colleges in the *mofussil* were to be amalgamated. We are glad that this scheme did not find general support from the members of the Conference. The figures given in the scheme were misleading, taken as they were from the figures of 1928 and the basic principles were also of doubtful value. The Conference also expressed its unanimous opinion

that in view of the present economic condition of the province, there could not be any general increase of fee-rates.

The two detailed schemes with regard to the secondary and collegiate education are separately printed at the end of these notes.

There were several other questions relating to academic reorganisation which were referred to a committee consisting of three representatives to be elected by Calcutta University, three by Dacca University and two nominated by Government. The questions referred to the Committee are the following :

1. Length of Honours Course.
2. Possibility of restriction of courses of study at the two Universities more particularly in the Post-graduate Departments to avoid duplication of work and waste of resources.
3. Combination of Law Studies with other Post-graduate Studies.
4. Comparative failure in recent years of Bengali students in All-India Service Examinations.

We express our whole-hearted approval of the resolution passed towards the end of the Conference requesting Government to take immediate steps for the restoration of the grant of Rs. 1,29,000, which was formerly distributed to the non-Government colleges of Bengal through the agency of the University of Calcutta. It was pointed out at the Conference that this grant enabled the struggling colleges to improve their laboratories, to better equip their libraries and to provide for increased facilities for the physical welfare of the students. The withdrawal of the grant has placed the colleges in a difficult position and if the Hon'ble Minister for Education can secure the restoration of the grant during the current session, he will earn the gratitude of his countrymen.

II. INDIAN ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

Professor Pramathanath Banerjea, M.A., D.Sc., has been appointed representative of the University in connection with the forthcoming Indian Economic Conference to be held at Annamalai University in the first week of January, 1934.

III. A NEW PH.D.

Mr. Jibankrishna Sarkar, M. A., has just been admitted to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. He submitted a thesis entitled *A New*

Theory of Perception which was examined by a Board consisting of Prof. F. W. Thomas of Oxford, Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan and Prof. Adityanath Mukherjee. Mr. Sarkar is serving as Professor of Philosophy at Muzaffarpur. We offer him our congratulations on his doctorate.

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IV. APPOINTMENT OF FELLOWS

Khan Bahadur Abdulla Abu Sayied, M.A., I.E.S., has been nominated a Fellow in place of Dr. D. Thompson who resigned his Fellowship on the eve of his departure for England. The Khan Bahadur is now acting as Principal of Murarichand College, Sylhet.

Mr. W. C. Wordsworth has just been re-appointed a Member of the Senate.

* * *

V. TAGORE PROFESSOR

Dr. James Mackintosh, K.C., LL.D., Tagore Professor of Law for 1933, is coming to Calcutta early in December to deliver his Tagore Lectures. We extend to Dr. Mackintosh our hearty welcome and we trust that the advanced students of Law of this University will profit by coming into contact with the distinguished professor from Edinburgh.

* * *

VI. PROF. SUHRAWARDY

We extend a cordial welcome to Prof. Saheed Suhrawardy who returned from England early in November and took over the duties of the Bagiswari Professor of Indian Fine Arts on the reopening of the Post-Graduate classes after the Puja vacation. Mr. Suhrawardy has commenced his work in right earnest and we have every reason to believe that by dint of his culture and scholarship he will soon establish himself in the front rank of teachers of this province.

* * *

VII. TRAINING CLASS FOR LIBRARIANS

The University has recently received a communication from the Government of Bengal on the subject of organising a training class for librarians in Calcutta. The Librarian of the Imperial

Library forwarded to the Government of India sometime ago a scheme for opening such a class in the Imperial Library. The Government of India have addressed the Government of Bengal on the subject pointing out that in Madras and in the Punjab such classes are held under the auspices of the Universities of those provinces and they have enquired whether similar provision can be made in Calcutta. The Syndicate has referred this question to a representative committee for enquiry and report. It is generally admitted that there is a dearth of trained librarians in this province. If some suitable scheme is drawn up for the purpose of providing necessary training to competent graduates, it will not only open a fresh avenue for employment but will also strengthen academic efficiency.

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VIII. BANKURA COLLEGE

The Principal of Wesleyan College, Bankura, has informed the University of the decision of its authorities to drop "Wesleyan" from the name of the College so that in future it will be known simply as Bankura College. The reason for this change is that last year the three branches of the Methodist Church of the British Isle were reunited as the Methodist Church, the title Wesleyan having been dropped from the name of the Church and the Missionary Society. The Society is now described as the Methodist Missionary Society.

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IX. REGULATIONS FOR LONDON M.B.B.S.

The Academic Registrar of the University of London has invited the attention of the University to certain new requirements for the M.B.B.S. examination of that University. The Registrar points out that doubts have arisen as to the period from which these new Regulations are to be applied. It is stated that they do not apply to any student who sat for the M.B.B.S. examination of the London University before November, 1933, but will apply to any candidate who sits for the examination for the first time in November 1933 and subsequently. The changes are noted below :

'Candidates who pass in one Group only of the M.B.B.S. Examination will be required to enter for the whole examination again if they fail to pass the other Group within a period of nineteen months. Registered Medical Practitioners who fail, or have failed, in either Group may be re-examined in that Group at any subsequent examination on payment of the proper fee.

A candidate (other than a Registered Medical Practitioner) who fails in Group I of the M.B.B.S. Examination will be required on re-entry for that group to produce evidence of having attended for a further period of three months the medical practice of a recognised hospital. Similarly, a candidate (other than a Registered Medical Practitioner) who has failed in Group II of the M.B.B.S. Examination will be required on re-entry for that group to produce evidence of having attended for a further period of three months the surgical and obstetric practice of a recognised hospital.

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X. DACCA SECONDARY BOARD

It appears from a communication recently received by the Registrar from the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Department of Education, that in view of the present financial stringency, Government propose to discontinue the post of a whole-time Chairman for the Dacca Secondary and Intermediate Board and to have the Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University as its Honorary Chairman. One of the characteristics of the University of Dacca has been that it has had no control over Secondary and Intermediate Education. It is for consideration whether this feature of the organisation of the University will be disturbed by making the head of the University the *ex-officio* Chairman of the Board which will control secondary and intermediate education within the area. It is also for consideration whether the Vice-Chancellor will have sufficient time at his disposal to give that personal attention to the various problems arising out of the administration of the Board's affairs which a whole-time Chairman can legitimately be expected to do.

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XI. A GIFT FOR FEMALE EDUCATION

Mr. Haridas Majumdar, Advocate of the High Court, has addressed a letter to the Registrar in which he states that he is prepared to place at the disposal of the University 50 *bighas* of land situated in the north-eastern side of the Dum Dum Aerodrome for the purpose of founding an institution for the spread of female education. Mr. Majumdar suggests that this may be utilised in connection with the bequest made to the University under the Will of the late Rai Bahadur Viharilal Mitra. The Syndicate has informed Mr. Majumdar that no definite decision has yet been reached regarding the manner in which the endowment created by the late Rai Bahadur will be utilised. But the University, it has been stated, will thankfully accept Mr.

Majumdar's offer and will utilise it for some object connected with the spread of female education in the province. We desire to associate ourselves with the Syndicate in thanking Mr. Majumdar for his generous gift.

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XII. AN ENDOWMENT

Sm. Kusumkumari Das has forwarded to the Registrar, Government promissory notes to the value of Rs. 1,000 for the creation of an endowment for the annual award of a gold-rimmed silver medal in memory of her daughter. The medal will be awarded to the girl graduate in Science who will obtain the highest number of marks with first class honours in any subject. In the absence of any such candidate the medal will be awarded to the girl graduate who will obtain the highest number of marks in any scientific subject.

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XIII. NEW CENTRES FOR UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS

The following new centres have been opened for the University Examinations in 1934 :—

For Matriculation Examination, 1934 :—

Bhola, Kalna, Karimganj, Narail and Tamluk.

For I.A. and I.Sc. Examinations, 1934 :—

Habiganj.

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XIV. SIR TARAKNATH PALIT FOREIGN SCHOLARS

Mr. Chittarajan Barat, M.Sc., is at present working with Prof. Dr. Hans Fischer on his Doctor's dissertation on Dipyrrolethanones at Munich, and Mr. Subodhkumar Majumdar, M.Sc., is prosecuting higher studies in Physical Chemistry at the same University, both as Sir Taraknath Palit Scholars of the University.

On the recommendation of the Governing Body of the Sir Taraknath Palit Trusts, Messrs. Barat and Majumdar have been awarded fresh loans of Rs. 2,500 and Rs. 1,500, respectively. The

Professors under whom the scholars are working have forwarded favourable reports on their work and it is expected that the extension of facilities now granted by the University will enable them to complete their studies.

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XV. THE INDIAN MEDICAL COUNCIL

Under the provisions of the Indian Medical Council Act recently passed by the Legislative Assembly, the Senate is entitled to elect one member of the Council. The representative will be elected by the Senate and he must belong to the Faculty of Medicine. The Syndicate has directed that the election should take place at the next meeting of the Senate which will be held on the 16th December, 1933.

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XVI. THE PRABĀSĪ BAṄGA SĀHITYA SAMMILAN

The Prabāsi Baṅga Sāhitya Sammīlan will be held this year at Gorakhpur on 27th, 28th and 29th December, 1933. Mr. Atulprasad Sen, Bar.-at-Law, of Lucknow will preside over the Conference. We have watched with considerable interest the progress achieved by the organisers of this Conference from year to year. The Conference has always succeeded in gathering within its fold distinguished Bengali scholars and men of letters, who, though away from the province of their birth, yield to none in their devotion to the cause of progress of Bengali literature. From the list of sections attached to the Conference it appears that the organisers intend to pay due attention to all branches of learning and neglect none. The sections include Literature, Philosophy, Science, Greater Bengal, History, Economics, Sociology, Fine Arts, Music, Journalism, Education, Agriculture, Commerce and Industries. We wish the Conference every success.

Detailed information of the activities of the Conference are available from Mr. Kshitishchandra Chatterjee, M.Sc., Secretary of the Reception Committee, who is now on the staff of St. Andrew's College, Gorakhpur.

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XVII. PROGRESS OF RESEARCHES

Department of Comparative Philology.

Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji is now engaged in bringing out, in collaboration with Pandit Harekrishna Mukherji Sāhityaratna, a critical edition of the *padas* of Chāṇḍīdāsa. A definitive text is being prepared, with elaborate critical and other materials, and some remarkable results in Early Bengali literary and linguistic history are being arrived at in the course of this edition. This work will be published by the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad. In collaboration with Pandit Babua Misra, Prof. Chatterji has prepared an edition of the Maithili *Varṇaratnākara* of Jyotirīśvara Thakkura, the oldest text in the language hitherto discovered. Besides he has in hand a historical grammar of Hindi, one of Persian and a study of the non-Aryan elements in Indo-Aryan. Within the last few months he has published some papers in connexion with the above subjects and among them his study of the *Calcutta Hindustani* (published in the 'Bulletin of the Linguistic Society of India') and the *Two New Indo-Aryan Etymologies* (published in the 'Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik,' Vol. 9, Part I.) deserve specially to be mentioned. Besides this, Prof. Chatterji has completed a full Grammar of Bengali in Bengali language for popularising the contents of his bigger work on the subject in English. He is also the Editor of the Journal of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad, and has been made the Philological Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Mr. Kshitis Chandra Chatterji is engaged in original research on the history of Sanskrit Grammar and has published within the last few months no less than nine papers in that connexion. Among them his discussions about Nyāsa (IHQ.), Kāśakṛtsna (IHQ.), Sivasūtras (Journal of the Department of Letters, C. U.), may be specially mentioned. Besides this Mr. Chatterji is preparing critical editions of Sāyana's introduction to the four Vedas and of the *Sisupālavadha* with the *ṭīkā* of Mallinātha. Mr. Chatterji is also the Editor of the Journal of the Sanskrit Sāhitya Parishad and of the Calcutta Oriental Journal.

Mr. Sukumar Sen is now working chiefly in Bengali Literature and Vaishnavism, in addition to the subject he has specialised in previously, *viz.*, Indo-Aryan Syntax. He is now seeing through the press a history of Brajabuli and Bengali Vaishnava Lyric Poetry and a grammar of the Brajabuli dialect. Besides this he is preparing a complete work on the origin and development of literary Prose in

Bengali and the historical syntax of Indo-Aryan. A critical edition of the Govinda-ratimañjarī as undertaken by him may also be mentioned.

The work of Mr. Manomohan Ghosh, whose research fellowship has been extended for one year, has been quite good. He has critically edited for the first time the Prakrit verses of the Nāṭyaśāstra and given an estimate of the age of the work on the linguistic basis. This edition of the Pkt. verses has been published as the supplement of the Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. VIII, 1932, No. 4. And in a second paper he has discussed the geographical affinity of the Mahārāṣṭrī Pkt. and this has been published in the Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, Vol. XXIII, under the title, Mahārāṣṭrī, a later phase of Śaurasenī. Besides this Mr. Ghosh is working on the history of ancient Indian drama and theatrical art. He is now seeing through the press his critical edition of Nandikeśvara's *Abhinayadarpaṇa*, a work on gestures in drama and dance. Among the number of articles published by him the Hindu Theatre (published in IHQ, Vol. IX, No. 2) and the Age of Nāṭyaśāstra, some conventions of the ancient Indian Stage, and the Adhirata and the Nāṭyasarvasva-dīpikā¹ may be mentioned.

In addition to the above activities the staff of the Comparative Philology Department have formed themselves into a "Philological Society of the University of Calcutta" for mutual assistance and other help in research work. Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture took a leading part in the formation of the Society. Since its establishment some noteworthy papers have been read, and it will be a good thing if the Calcutta University, as the Society is founded under the auspices of the Department of Comparative Philology, can publish these papers in the form of occasional bulletins.

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XVIII. VISIT OF THE BRITISH UNIVERSITIES' DEBATING TEAM TO THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

It was a great pity that the British Universities' Debating Team had to visit Calcutta at a time when the University and most of the

¹ The last three papers have been accepted for publication in the Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University, the Indian Historical Quarterly and the Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, respectively.

Colleges were still closed. This made it difficult to organise the team representing the University, and what is more to be regretted, prevented the visitors from seeing the normal functioning of student life in the biggest educational centre of India. If the purpose of these visits is, as it ought to be, the establishment of social and personal contacts rather than the promotion of arid intellectual contests, the time chosen for the visit was most inopportune.

In spite of this unhappy choice of time, the visit however proved to be a great success. An afternoon party was arranged where the visitors met some of the students who happened to be in town. Only students were present at the function, which gave the visitors an opportunity to exchange ideas and form friendships with the students here.

The debate also succeeded beyond all expectations. The Asutosh Hall of the University was packed to its utmost capacity and many had to go back disappointed through lack of space. The University team was chosen entirely from among the students, and was, on the average, distinctly younger than the visiting team.

The debate was opened by Mr. McGilvray, one of the visitors. It seems, on the whole, a better procedure to let one of the members of the home team to open the debate, since it affords the hosts a chance to welcome their visitors at the very start. The order of speaking settled by the Inter-Universities' Board was adhered to, except in the case of Mr. Greenwood, who at his own request was called upon to speak last. The speeches of the visitors were highly appreciated and the audience enjoyed immensely the contrast in style and manner of the different speakers. Mr. McGilvray was solid and slightly argumentative, and surprisingly un-Scotch in eschewing all humour. Mr. Jones was suave and persuasive and had a charming smile, while Mr. Greenwood gave an excellent exhibition of vigorous parliamentary abuse, combining powerful invective with polished speech.

One of the speakers of the Calcutta Team was well up to the standard of the visitors while another was hardly, if at all inferior. Only one member did not come up to expectations, but he was not a member of the team originally selected and was called upon at the last moment to fill in the vacancy caused by the absence of one of the men. Under the circumstances, his performance was quite creditable.

The visitors left Calcutta with pleasant memories and left pleasant memories behind. The debate was both an enjoyment and an education to the students here, and it is to be hoped that from now on,

visits of debating teams to and from the British Universities will occur with periodic regularity in the life of the students of Indian Universities.

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XIX. AMONG OUR LATEST PUBLICATIONS

Among our latest publications, *Juristic Personality of Hindu Deities* by Dr. S. C. Bagchi, LL.D., Principal, University Law College, Calcutta, is an important one. The book contains Dr. Bagchi's lectures on the subject as Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Lecturer for the year 1931. The theme of Juristic Personality is a topic that Dr. Bagchi has been studying for several years past in its historical and analytical aspects ; in the year 1915 he sketched the important theories on the subject briefly in his Tagore Law Lectures on the Principles of the Law of Corporations. The theories have been succinctly presented in this small volume which makes the views of Sir Asutosh on the subject known to the general public.

Ranjit Singh by Mr. Narendra Krishna Sinha, M.A., Lecturer, Calcutta University, is a notable contribution by one of our former students and now a teacher in the University. He has scrupulously avoided all personal details about Ranjit. It has been mainly his aim to elucidate in the light of new evidence the relations of Ranjit Singh with the Afghans on the one hand, and his Indian and British neighbours on the other. A graphic account of Ranji's Civil Administration and an estimate of the Sikh military system have also been attempted.

APPENDIX

The two following Notes were discussed at the Educational Conference. They were prepared by Government as a basis for discussion and did not represent any accepted policy of Government.

I.

WEAKNESS OF PRESENT SYSTEM.

The weakness of the present system may be judged by the difficulties experienced in removing admitted defects. Many of these defects are directly due to the system itself. The main points calling for discussion are :—

- (1) (a) University standards.
(b) More effective co-operation between the different institutions responsible for University teaching.
(c) Financial instability of colleges.
- (2) (a) More effective control of secondary education.
(b) Domination of secondary education by Matriculation Examination.
(c) Low standard of teaching and work in secondary schools.
(d) Financial instability of schools.
- (3) Inefficiency of primary school work and teaching due to (a) inability to obtain satisfactory teachers, and (b) unsatisfactory scheme of studies.

The following facts have to be borne in mind :—

(a) It is impossible to effect satisfactory improvement in university work until the student on admission to the university is better trained in methods of study and logical thinking and has a sounder foundation of knowledge, *i.e.*, no real improvement can be ensured in university work until the secondary system is made much more effective.

(b) Radical improvement in the secondary system is not possible while the present dual control remains. The university is not constituted for and does not, in practice, effectively supervise the high schools in the province. Government has no control over the majority of the schools (the unaided ones) and its influence over the aided schools is restricted.

(c) Effective control and work in middle schools and primary schools is complicated by the existence in high schools of middle and

primary sections. Particularly in the case of the primary classes, the work is not under the supervision of the normal primary education authorities and the policy followed in such classes, *e.g.*, the teaching of English, makes difficult any improvement in normal primary schools.

II.

A POSSIBLE GENERAL EDUCATIONAL POLICY.

The following scheme for general educational reform is put forward for consideration as a type of plan which, if carried into effect, would make easier the removal of the present admitted defects. The scheme is given in broad outline and details need not, at this stage, be considered. In proposing any variations, it should be borne in mind that it is essential to consider the system as an organic whole rather than as a series of disconnected parts and to take into account the effect of any variation upon all sections. Any system to be effective must—

- (1) Definitely link up primary, secondary and university education.
- (2) Prevent unnecessary overlapping in the different stages.
- (3) Allow of effective control and development within each stage.
- (4) Allow of the most economic use of whatever money is available from public and private funds.

As the proposals are considered, it will be clear that before definite decisions are reached, an accurate and detailed survey in the districts with regard to the distribution of schools and colleges will be necessary. Any scheme must guarantee that there are no considerable areas in which reasonable facilities are lacking and any scheme must be sufficiently elastic to allow of exceptional treatment under conditions which call for deviation from the normal plan.

(a) *General scheme.*—The scheme envisaged is one in which there are primary schools distributed throughout the province in such a way as to place every child (except in very sparsely populated areas) within reasonable walking distance of a primary school. Children between the ages of 6 and 9 (inclusive, *i.e.*, 4 years' attendance at school) would attend these primary schools in which instruction would be given in three classes, namely, infant and classes I and II. The curriculum would be a common one for all communities with definite facilities for religious teaching. These primary schools would act as feeders to middle schools which would of course be fewer in number and so distributed as to serve most economically the whole province.

The middle schools would consist essentially of four classes, namely, classes III, IV, V and VI and would enrol children normally from the ages of 9 to 13. These schools would serve children of all communities and it would be necessary to provide teachers of both major communities so that special teaching, if necessary, could be given. The middle schools would serve as feeders to high schools. High schools would be situated only in the more important centres and would be so geographically distributed as to cover the whole province without overlapping. Hostel accommodation would be necessary in practically all these schools in order to provide for the residence of scholars whose homes are not within easy reach of high schools. In high schools the essential classes would be classes VII, VIII, IX and X, covering normally the ages from 13 to 17. Similarly, the high schools would serve as feeders to colleges still more thinly distributed, but again situated throughout the province in such a way as to provide reasonable facilities for all, having due regard to the conditions necessary for ensuring economic stability of the colleges.

(b) *Educational finance*.—Financial stability of colleges and schools must be ensured by (a) fee income, (b) endowment, and (c) grants from public funds.

Unless the second of these, namely, endowments, provides considerable income, it is clear that there can be no satisfactory stability unless the fee income is as high as possible, considering economic conditions, and assistance from public funds is forthcoming. Unfortunately, excepting in the case of the University of Calcutta, endowments are not in existence to any considerable extent and it follows, therefore, that the other two sources of income must be relied upon to ensure freedom from financial anxiety in educational institutions. The question as to what fee rates it is possible to levy is intimately bound up with the question of the facilities that exist by way of scholarships for poor and able students. It is suggested that in all schools and colleges, definite rates of fees should be established, possibly a little higher than those now in existence and that an organised scholarship system should provide for free tuition and possibly residence, for able students in colleges and high middle schools. The question of Government grants necessary for efficient working of the schools is one that is bound up with the size of the schools, their number and their fee income. The financial problem of the schools and colleges, as will be shown later, if the system is organised in such a way as to guarantee that all schools and colleges have a reasonable

roll strength, is not one that is probably beyond solution in the near future.

(c) *Control*.—Although it is not essential or even desirable that the controlling authority in the three sections, namely, college, secondary and primary, should be the same, it is essential that such co-operation in working and co-ordination of policy should be guaranteed as will allow of effective control in the different sections. Primary education will presumably be controlled according to the Bengal Primary Education Act of 1930 in which definite responsibility is thrown upon local authorities, namely, District School Boards, with supervision and co-ordination of purpose in the different districts effected by Government and a Central Advisory Committee. The Act does not prevent, however, the establishment of unauthorised schools or classes following schemes of work and policies which may be contrary to those desired by the controlling authorities under the Act. It is suggested, therefore, that admissions to classes in secondary schools should, in all cases, be subject to the proviso that the boy or girl has satisfactorily passed through the primary classes in a recognised school or is exempt on certain definite and approved conditions. So far as secondary schools are concerned, it is essential that there should be one controlling authority working upon a definite plan which is co-ordinated on the one hand with the primary work and on the other hand with the university work as approved by the university authorities. Whether this controlling authority should be Government, the university, a special statutory body having full authority or an advisory body subject to the control of Government, is a matter to be decided as a separate and major issue. What is essential, however, is that there should be no laxity of control allowing a continuation of the present unsatisfactory conditions. In addition to ensuring that admission to secondary (middle schools) is only possible upon specific conditions, it would be necessary also to guarantee that admission to recognised high schools is only possible from recognised middle schools except under approved circumstances. The question of curriculum and standards of work in the different types of institutions, namely, madrasas (if continued), high schools middle schools, and any other types of special schools would be one of the functions of these controlling authorities. So far as colleges are concerned, the question of control need not here be considered in detail. Both Government and the university must exercise their influence, the latter in the immediate technical and

academic administration, the former in so far as it must ultimately be responsible and must be satisfied that efficient work is being done.

MORE DETAILED PROPOSALS WITH REGARD TO REORGANISATION IN THE
DIFFERENT SECTIONS

(1) *College education*.—Apart from the question of a possible reorganisation of internal control within the University of Calcutta, the outstanding problem in college education is that of the financial stability of the private colleges. Recent co-operation between Government and the university has given a temporarily more or less satisfactory solution of the university's own financial problems, but the condition of many of the private colleges is very precarious. For many years now many of them have been carrying on from hand to mouth, unable to pay satisfactory salaries to their professorial staff and unable to provide facilities for non-academic activities. It is clear that if there is to be any real improvement in efficient working of the colleges, the question of the mufassal colleges, in particular, must be taken seriously. There are at present, as most people will admit, certain colleges whose existence is questionably justifiable. They merely serve to lower the general standard of attainments and act prejudicially upon the whole system. Government cannot be expected to assist colleges the justification for whose existence is doubtful. On the other hand, the policy followed in allocating grants to private colleges probably needs revision. The following table shows a possible scheme which, by amalgamation of certain colleges, limitation of the size of others and a definite policy of Government contribution together with slightly increased fee rates, would guarantee financial stability together with adequately paid staffs. It is probably not immediately possible of application and is put forward as illustrating a possible line of advance. It would be of definite advantage to know whether the university authorities are in sympathy with such a reorganisation.

College.	Present roll strength.	Proposed roll strength.	Present total income.	Probable total income: 33½ per cent. Government grant basis.	Present Government grant.		Government grant; basis 33½ per cent.
					Expenditure.	Receipts.	
			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1. Presidency	1,083	1,250	5,35,000	2,50,000	5,35,000	1,75,000 *	88,333
2. Scottish	1,163	1,250	2,15,000	2,50,000	27,000	...	88,333
3. Ripon	876	1,250	88,000	2,50,000	...	...	88,333
4. City	1,500	1,250	1,50,000	2,50,000	...	...	88,333
5. Vidyasagar	1,848	1,250	1,50,000	2,50,000	...	...	88,333
6. Bangabasi	1,350	1,250	1,55,000	2,50,000	...	...	88,333
7. Asutosh	776	800	90,000	1,50,000	...	...	50,000
8. St. Xavier's	765	800	1,11,000	1,50,000	21,000	...	50,000
9. St. Paul's	381	400	1,04,000	1,04,000	17,000	...	34,666
10. Rajshahi	860	900	2,35,000	1,75,000	2,35,000	62,000 *	58,333
11. Comilla	948	948	1,04,000	1,80,000	6,000	...	60,000
12. Barisal	1,226	1,226	1,15,000	2,25,000	16,000	...	75,000
13. Rangpur	546	546	70,000	1,40,000	12,000	...	28,333
14. Berhampur	750	750	1,10,000	1,50,000	2,000	...	50,000
15. Mytensingh	877	1,000	1,00,000	2,00,000	12,000	...	66,666
16. Karatiya	157	26,000	26,000	...	7,000	...	58,333
Bagerhat	231	28,000	28,000	1,75,000	11,000	...	60,000
Daulatpur	551	58,000	58,000	...	3,000	...	33,333
Narsail	125	15,000	15,000	1,80,000	1,42,000	52,000 *	40,000
17. Chittagong	603	950	1,42,000	...	5,000	...	...
Feni	350	29,000	29,000	1,00,000	12,000	...	...
248	532	42,000	42,000	...	24,000	...	...
18. Pabna	284	...	...	1,20,000	1,47,000	...	...
Faridpur	276	636	1,47,000	...	16,000	...	...
19. Hooghly	260	...	78,000	1,20,000	1,35,000	19,000 *	40,000
Serampur	100	...	10,000	...	...	...	...
20. Uttarpara	260	...	1,25,000	...	...	...	...
Krishnagar	266	...	30,000	1,20,000	...	...	...
Burdwan	99	...	14,000	...	...	...	...
Hetampur	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

21. Midnapur Bankura	221 494	19,585	19,228	81,000	37,69,000	10,000 14,000	3,32,000	12,56,333
Howrah (to be absorbed).	65	...	...	14,600	...	...	...	...
Contai (Future?).	56	...	...	15,000	...	...	...	...
Total	...	19,585	19,228	32,17,200	37,69,000	13,99,000 1,29,000 (Imperial grant given through University.)	3,32,000 Fee receipts.	12,56,333
Total grant	...	...	...	...	...	15,28,000	...	...
Less	...	...	...	...	...	3,32,000 Fee receipts.	...	...
Net Government grant...	...	...	...	...	...	11,96,000	...	...

The figures refer to conditions with regard to number and fee income, etc., in 1923. Increased Government grant required = Rs. 60,000.

* Fee receipts.

(2) *High school education.*—There are at present in the province approximately 1,200 high schools distributed haphazardly. The existence of many is precarious ; their value doubtful. The mistaken policy of multiplying institutions, without ensuring their academic efficiency or their financial stability, has been disastrous. It is clear that to attempt to provide facilities for high school education in every village is an impracticable ideal which even the richest countries in the world do not attempt to carry out. Whatever may be said for the placing of primary schools within walking distance of every child, financial considerations should undoubtedly prohibit any attempt to provide high school education on a similar plan.

It will have to be realised, and the realisation implemented, in practice, that in order to provide facilities for the child who chooses to continue his studies beyond the middle stage and who resides in an out-of-the-way place, the practice of attaching hostels to high schools must be extended. Boys must be prepared to reside away from home.

There are at present in high school classes in Bengal approximately one hundred and four thousand students. In all probability 400 schools, properly organised and controlled, would ensure far more efficient education than is at present possible. The following is the type of high school which is envisaged.

Number of pupils in schools, 260, distributed as follows:—

Class X	...	...	...	...	60
Class IX	...	...	...	...	60
Class VIII	...	...	...	...	70
Class VII	...	...	...	...	70

There would be two sections in each class and the school would therefore, consist essentially of eight classes. These two sections might correspond to the classical and modern sides of English secondary schools. This would allow of the introduction of teaching in Science as well as of the provision of teaching for Arabic or Sanskrit, etc. Such a school would have hostel accommodation for not less than 100 boys, a science laboratory and a staff of ten teachers.

It is probably not desirable to allow high schools to conduct middle or primary school classes. The high school stage is not an altogether artificially created division. It corresponds to certain definite physical and psychological changes in a boy. In England, young boys, even when admitted to a secondary school, are entered into a preparatory

department almost invariably separately administered and controlled. There is little to gain and much to lose by extending a high school downwards. (Where high schools at present have middle and primary classes, these latter are only too often regarded as financial feeders to the matriculation and other upper classes, and insufficient attention is paid to the welfare of the younger children. If there is to be extension, it should be upwards by the provision of classes as alternatives to university careers. One such class might be a preparation course for primary school teachers. Business and commercial classes and other vocational courses could be added.

The scales of pay suggested are as follows:—

	Rs.
Head Masters	100—5—150
Assistant Head Masters	75—5/2—90
Ten teachers	50—5/2—75

Average salary bill, Rs. 875. The current expenditure budget of such a school would be as follows:—

	Rs.
Salaries	875
Provident Fund	55
Apparatus	25
Library	15
Servants	30
Games	10
Contingencies	10
Repairs and Reserve Fund	25
Boarding Stipends	130
Total	1,175

a month.

The income for such a school would consist essentially of fee income together with Government grant. Many schools would have certain local sources of income. This should not normally be taken into account but, where available, will be used for increasing facilities for such items as laboratory, library, playing field, games, etc. It is suggested that fee rates normally to be charged should be Rs. 4 in classes X and IX, Rs. 3 in classes VIII and VII. The present system of free seats should be abolished and there should be a definite scholarship examination at the end of the middle stage upon the results of which scholarships to the extent of 5 per cent. of the number of students reading in the high school should be allowed. In addition 10 per cent. of the students in any high school should be given boarding stipends of Rs. 5 a month to

A normal budget of expenditure would then be as follows:—

	Rs.
Salaries	155
Provident Fund	10
Library	5
Servants	10
Contingencies including games	11
Buildings	10
TOTAL	201

In order to balance the budget, therefore, a Government grant of Rs. 50 per month would be required. Any available local contributions would be utilised for improving facilities.

The total Government grant required would be $50 \times 12 \times 2,500$ Rs. 15,00,000, i.e., Rs. 15 lakhs per year. To this should be added one lakh for building requirements.

In a selected number of these schools continuation classes might be established where agricultural or other vocational instruction could be imparted. These would absorb many of those who did not proceed to high schools. Their creation would of course impose an additional financial burden the amount of which would depend upon the nature and extent of the scheme adopted. It is probably not advisable to allow the addition of any normal high school classes to middle schools. As with high schools, the economic position will probably not allow of immediate fulfilment of this plan, but it is put forward as a possible progressive scheme developed over a number of years.

(4) *Salaries of professors and teachers.*—The question of adequate payments to professors and teachers in educational institutions is an important one. The present situation is that in few cases can salaries be considered adequate. So far as colleges are concerned, it is difficult to generalise, as conditions vary very much in the different colleges. There are undoubtedly, however, many college professors and teachers whose salaries are incommensurate with the work they have to perform. Reorganisation and guaranteed college income, such as has been suggested, would enable a very considerable improvement to be made and ensure the removal of the defects. So far as middle schools and primary schools are concerned, the situation is as follows:—

In actual practice, there are many teachers in high schools who are receiving salaries of Rs. 25 per month and even less. These

salaries are often irregularly paid and in not a few cases they are further diminished by so-called voluntary contributions by the teachers to the school funds. In middle schools, Rs. 20 per month is a high salary while, as is well known, there are many teachers in primary schools receiving salaries of less than ten rupees. Reorganisation as above suggested would give the following salaries:—

High schools—

Rs.

Head Masters	...	...	...	100—5—150
Assistant Head Masters	...	...	...	75—5-2—90
Teachers	...	...	...	50—5-2—75

Middle schools—

Head Masters	...	...	...	40—1—60
Teachers	...	...	...	30— $\frac{1}{2}$ —35

It is hoped that on a similar scheme of reorganisation in primary schools it might be possible to pay—

Rs.

Head Masters	...	...	...	25— $\frac{1}{2}$ —30
Trained teachers	...	...	...	20— $\frac{1}{2}$ —25

There is no doubt that, if it were possible to introduce the above rates of salaries for teachers, then teaching as a profession would become a much more attractive career for our graduates and educated youths. Particularly, if the above salaries could be paid in primary schools, this reorganisation would go a long way towards removing the present economic distress in the educated community. The right type of man will be attracted to all institutions and from every point of view the achievement of such a result will be a very considerable step forward.

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